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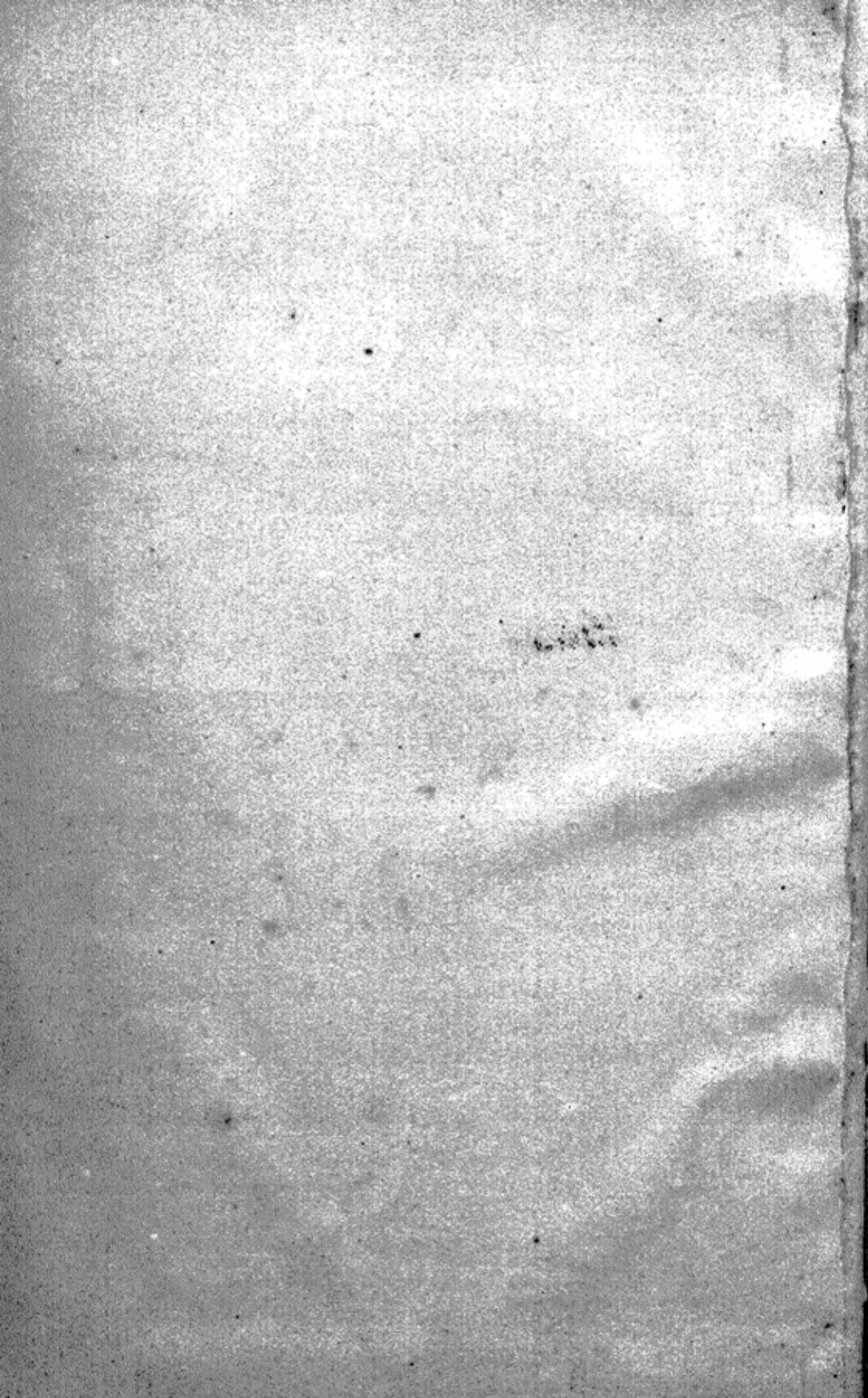
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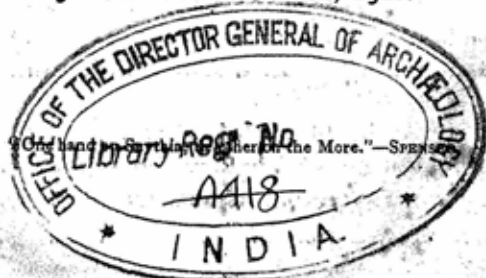
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JANUARY, 1906.

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THE TEA DUTIES.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE brief Report on the recent history of Tea Culture in Assam, lately issued as a Blue-book by Mr. Kershaw for the Government of Assam, accompanied by voluminous returns for the year 1904, is a record of work that may well make us feel proud of our race. Read with the "Tea and Coffee" Blue-book laid before the Imperial Parliament by the Board of Trade in August last, it shows the planting community of India bravely and resolutely struggling against the most intolerable fiscal oppression—oppression that is all the more galling because it is gratuitous and unnecessary, benefiting no one, hated even by those who impose it, and maintained simply in deference to the fanatical prejudices of the slaves of an antiquated and obsolete economic fetish.

Like all other Indian producers, the tea-planter contributes heavily to the Imperial exchequer of India, not merely, or even mainly, in the shape of the direct taxation imposed upon him, but indirectly by reason of the currency and exchange policy of the Government. Everyone is agreed that this policy is a right and necessary one for India, and therefore for the Empire; but due consideration should be shown towards the interests that suffer from its

adoption. And let it not be forgotten that this policy, with its restrictions on the coinage of silver, acts as a direct protection to the teas of China with its free silver. Of that there can be no doubt in the world, though the Cobden Club would howl if this rank protection of China, naked and unabashed, were mitigated by even the smallest preference given to the teas of India and Ceylon.

This unfair burden would be uncomplainingly borne by the Indian and Ceylon planters, from patriotic motives, if only they were treated with ordinary decency in the other fiscal arrangements of the Government. So, too, they have always cheerfully acquiesced in humanitarian labour legislation, feeling that the results are worth some immediate sacrifice. And it has long been admitted, even by those who are accustomed to look with suspicion on "pioneers of Empire," that there does not exist in the whole world a more humane, a more generous, or a more high-minded body of men as a whole than the planting community. Burdens such as those which I am now speaking of, which have at any rate an intelligible *raison d'être*, for they are felt to be burdens of Empire and of humanity, have been readily and cheerfully borne. But there are, and ought to be, limits to this patriotic complaisance. And surely those limits have been reached and passed when an industry that has resuscitated a British colony, that has created an Indian province, that has provided a livelihood for vast numbers of our Indian fellow-subjects, is impoverished and strangled for no better reason than the gratification of a well-meaning but exceedingly foolish British prejudice. These Blue-books prove beyond the possibility of a doubt that—directly in the markets of the United Kingdom, indirectly in colonial and foreign markets where India is not permitted to negotiate—Indian and Ceylon tea is penalized to an extent that is simply appalling, while the most worthless rubbish of Chinese production is proportionately protected, merely in deference to the Cobdenite fanaticism of a portion (probably a small portion) of the



British electorate, and to the foolish and unreasoning dread of that fanaticism that is entertained by a certain number of British politicians who pose as Free Fooders.

For these papers show most clearly that, in the wrong done to the tea industry, the *fons et origo mali* is to be looked for simply and solely in the working of our British and Indian fiscal systems. Under the existing British fiscal system, which Mr. Balfour's sarcasm has christened "Insular Free Trade"—much insularity, and very little Free Trade!—British-grown tea is subjected to every possible discouragement. It is hit both ways by our insular methods. For insularity refuses to remember that it is grown within the Empire, and therefore is really a domestic product. It treats Indian and Ceylon tea as a foreign product that cannot be grown within our insular limits, and that consequently may be taxed up to the hilt without any reproach of Protection. There is hardly any other commodity of general consumption that can neither be grown in "British" soil nor worked up in "British" factories, if by "British" you mean "insular British."

Tea is as much, and as essentially, "food" as corn is. But if you tax foreign corn you might benefit the British farmer, and that, say the Free Fooders, would be Protection. Now, revenue must be raised somehow. There must be some indirect taxation, for incomes are already taxed at a shilling in the pound, and the income-tax and the death duties between them are rapidly tending to destroy thrift. And indirect taxation, to be adequate, must be levied on articles of general consumption. So the *soi-disant* Free Traders, and also—paradoxical as it may seem—those very foolish and illogical persons, the Free Fooders, have quite made up their minds that on these grounds tea is a commodity on which you may without reproach impose an import duty more than ten times as heavy as that which would be cursed by the Cobden Club if it were imposed on corn.

But to anyone who will take the trouble to examine the

statistics of the tea trade, whether as given in these Blue-books, or as very lucidly explained in Mr. Stanton's excellent paper read before the Society of Arts, it will at once be evident that they completely knock the bottom out of every one of the Free Fooder's leading contentions—contentions that are usually put forward with a contemptuous air of cocksureness that altogether disdains to argue with such inferior mortals as Conservatives or Tariff Reformers.

For instance, take the contention, maintained by most Free Fooders as if it were a mathematical fact, that all import duties are paid by the consumer, and that consequently Indian tea-planters need not bother about British import duties, except in so far as they check consumption. Well, as to the import duty checking consumption, the figures yield a somewhat dubious return; for whilst the imports of Indian tea into the United Kingdom during the year 1904-1905 (the year of highest duty) were  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million pounds less than in 1903-1904, they were nearly 16 million pounds more than in 1902-1903. But as to the consumer paying all, or (in this particular case) any part, of the import duty, we find that the price obtained from the consumer in London averaged under 7d. per pound in 1904-1905, as against  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound in 1903-1904, and as against  $7\frac{3}{4}$ d. per pound in 1902-1903! Of course, every political economist knows perfectly well that, while it may properly be said that, *ceteris paribus*, an import duty may be paid by the consumer, and may therefore tend to check consumption, yet the fact is, in this world of sin and woe, there is never, or hardly ever, such a state of affairs as *ceteris paribus*. And Lord George Hamilton—though (strangely enough) something of a Free Fooder himself—with his usual straightforwardness frankly acknowledged this fact at Mr. Stanton's meeting at the Society of Arts; for he said: "Of course, there are other influences and agencies far more potent than taxation in regulating prices." He went on to minimize this admission, but these words of his are quite sufficient for my present contention. In every

case, and in regard to every commodity, there will probably always be dozens of factors that will enter into the determination both of price and of consumption. And opinions, even of competent experts, will generally differ as to which is the predominant factor. For instance, the Assam Government says: "The fall in price has been very generally attributed to the increase in the home duty, which is said to have lessened the demand for the better qualities of tea;" though we do not find any considerable increase in the price of the lower qualities to console us for the fall in the better qualities. We simply find that large quantities of the cheaper sorts of the China tea that is protected by its free silver poured in to keep even these prices down. My old friend, Mr. J. D. Rees, I.C.S., C.I.E., in the admirable paper\* which he read last year before the East India Association on this subject, was evidently distressed to have to confess that, as a matter of fact, it was the planter chiefly, and possibly the merchant and distributor in a less degree, who pay the tea duty, and not the consumer at all. For he explains the phenomenon by the anxiety of blenders to keep down prices in order to avoid a check in consumption; and since competition between the blenders (as well as, it may be hoped, commercial morality) forbids the supposition of any general fraudulent substitution of the lower qualities for the better, it is obvious that Mr. Rees's explanation simply amounts to a confession that competition has compelled the planters and the distributors to pay the duty.

If we take a longer period of years, the fact becomes still clearer that, owing largely to the effective competition of the protected China tea, the duty is mainly paid by the planters and by the distributors, and not by the consumers. This is what the newly-published Blue-book has to say on the point:

"In 1884 the value of the tea landed in this country averaged 11½d. per pound; in 1904 it averaged about 7½d. The value of the tea imported from British India was, in 1884, 14'12d. per pound; in 1904 it was 7'30d. The value

\* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1904, pp. 277-295.

of that imported from Ceylon was 17·26d. per pound in 1884; in 1904 it was 7·20d. Chinese tea in 1884 averaged 10·59d.; in 1904 it averaged 7·16d. It thus appears that, whilst the average value of tea from all these sources has declined to almost the same point, the absolute decline has been greatest in the case of Ceylon and least in the case of China teas. It is of interest, moreover, to compare these landing values in the United Kingdom with the declared values of the tea exported to all destinations from the various producing countries. Thus we find that the exports of tea from British India in 1884 were valued at 13·33d. per pound; in 1904 their value was 6·63d. at the port of export. Similarly, the exports of tea from Ceylon in 1884 were valued at 11·63d. per pound; in 1903 at 6·24d. per pound. China tea, in 1884, averaged in value at the port of export 7·26d. per pound; in 1904 5·37d. per pound. It will be observed that the decline in value here shown is (especially in the case of Ceylon and China) noticeably less than the decline in the import values in this country."

It is only because, in the particular case of the tea trade, we possess the statistics of this trade equally for the country of production and for the country of consumption that it is possible thus clearly and certainly to demonstrate the futility of the cocksure dogmas of the Free Fooders. From these statistics we see that the heavier the tax, the keener the competition of the protected China product, and the more crushing the burden on the planters of India and Ceylon, and all the industries related to them—the railways, shipping, landing, warehousing, importing, distributing, wholesale dealing, and retailing industries that draw revenue from the trade in tea. Of course the time will come—if this outrageous impost, or anything approaching it in severity, be maintained—when the resisting powers of the planters will have been worn down, when their profits, and even their capital, will have disappeared, and they will have to give up the struggle; and then the home consumer will have to pay all the duty. And even before this climax is reached, and

while the industry is becoming more and more a losing concern, as the competition will naturally slacken, so more and more will the tax have to be borne by the home consumer. And thus gradually the trade, which was won from China by British pluck and British capital in India and Ceylon, will be retransferred back again to China, where it will be entrenched behind free silver, sweated labour, and the lowest standard of living known to modern humanity.

With regard to this pleasant prospect of the imports of cheap foreign-grown tea into the United Kingdom once more ousting British-grown tea from the home market, some very pertinent remarks\* were addressed to the meeting of the East India Association on July 20, 1904, by Mr. Durant Beighton, one of our Indian civilians (now retired), who has had an unrivalled official acquaintance with the Indian tea industry. Mr. Beighton said that the increased import of foreign teas was largely owing to the increased duty, for "if the bulk of the imports were to consist of very coarse tea, owing to the necessity of tea companies making their profit by quantity instead of quality, China tea would come in in ever-increasing quantities." Mr. Beighton warmly advocated an extra impost on the foreign tea, so as to put it on a fair level with British-grown tea, which seems the most simple act of justice and fair-play towards the Indian planter. Lord George Hamilton, replying as a Free Fooder to this very reasonable proposal, said that "China tea amounted to only 7 per cent. of the whole, and what was the use of taxing that?" But, as a matter of fact, the import of foreign-grown tea in the year 1904 amounted to about 22 million pounds, against about 234 million pounds coming from India and Ceylon; so that if this trade could be captured every Indian and Ceylon planter, on the average, would add to his yearly sales at least 9 per cent. more than he now sells. Would any intelligent business-man scoff at such an addition as that? Why, he would perceive that it would give to the wholesome Indian product the control

\* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1904, pp. 396-398.

of the market, to the infinite benefit alike of producer and consumer! And if good Indian and Ceylon tea, relieved from the burden of the duty, were in this way obtainable at the cheap prices now given for the inferior China rubbish, there is every reason to believe that the *per capita* consumption of tea in the United Kingdom would rise at least to the level which it has attained in Australia, and this would mean a further addition of 50 million pounds per annum, or altogether an addition of something like 30 per cent. to the sales of the Indian or Ceylon planter! Would Lord George Hamilton scoff at that? At the meeting of the Society of Arts on June 3, 1904, Mr. Rutherford, the able President of the Ceylon Association in London, turned the tables on Lord George, by showing how utterly preposterous is the contention that Indian and Ceylon teas in this country have reached the limits of possible consumption, or anything like it. He observed: "As we have been told by Mr. Stanton that this country consumes 6 pounds per head, as against Australia's  $7\frac{1}{2}$  pounds, then, if we are 'saturated,' what term can be applied to them?"

Mr. Stanton, of the world-renowned tea firm of Gow, Wilson, and Stanton, gave a masterly exposition of the whole subject in the paper which he read before the Society of Arts on June 3, 1904. And these were the striking words which he used about our taxation of British-grown teas: "It is quite intelligible that as long as tea was not grown by our fellow-subjects, but by foreigners, it should have been taxed, but when its production was so largely in the hands of our countrymen, as has been the case for the last twenty to thirty years, it is somewhat strange that the taxation should have still continued so heavy, and that it should have been impossible to find some other product upon which an impost could be levied which was not so largely grown by our fellow-subjects. With the duty raised to 6d., tea was taxed to the extent of not far short of 80 per cent. of its value, a burden which is admittedly a very heavy one." And now it is more like 120 per cent.



Mr. Stanton showed that the result of our unpatriotic and unsympathetic taxation of our own kith and kin is, and must be (1) the reduction, at any rate for the time, of the consumption in the United Kingdom of the wholesome temperance beverage afforded by our Indian and Ceylon teas; (2) the substitution, in the food of our poorer classes, of the rubbishy, worthless foreign tea, in some cases the rejections of other countries; and (3), if persisted in, the crippling of an industry of immense value to India and Ceylon, as well as to the Mother Country. Now, the practical question is, Wherein lies our hope of averting these evils?

Well, it is clearly shown, both by the official papers I have been quoting, and by the general sense of the discussions at the Society of Arts and the East India Association, that a new era of prosperity for the tea industries of India and Ceylon may be hoped for by the reduction or abolition of the existing import duties; and that it will be secured, with almost boundless additions, by the establishment of preferential trading within the Empire, with the retention (for revenue purposes) of the existing duties on China, Java, Japanese, and other foreign teas. The returns show what advantages have already been obtained from the generous preferences spontaneously accorded by New Zealand to British-grown teas, by Canada to British productions in general. The virile common-sense and the sympathetic loyalty of all our Colonies are already manifesting themselves in these spontaneous preferences, not only mutually towards each other, where their infinite value is well understood, but also towards India and the United Kingdom, a silent and dignified reproach for our selfish and short-sighted "insular" prejudices.

The practical question I have asked, then, becomes narrowed to this further question, What hope is there of the adoption by the United Kingdom of a more reasonable fiscal system, adapted to the commercial and industrial conditions, not of the "hungry forties" of our grandmothers' time, but of the twentieth century?

I think that Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour have brought us within sight of this great deliverance from fanaticism. From the point of view of the tea industry, quite the most hopeful words that have yet been uttered were those of Mr. Bonar Law at Aberdeen in October last. The Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade is, by common consent one of the ablest, most popular, and most trusted, of the members of Mr. Balfour's Government. Himself a level-headed, sagacious, and successful man of business, he speaks to business men with an authority that belongs to hardly any other of our front-rank politicians. His words are clear and to the point, and even the dullest and most prejudiced Free Fooder is compelled to admit that he knows what he is talking about. With some of his sensible and logical words, addressed to shrewd and long-headed brither Scots at Aberdeen, I will conclude this article with a real gleam of hope for the planters of India and Ceylon :

"What," he asked, "were our chief sources of indirect taxation now?" Alcohol, tea, tobacco. He did not suggest that any change should be made in regard to alcohol, because he would approve of deriving as large a revenue from that trade as the trade could pay; but what about the other two? Tobacco was largely used by the working classes. Of course there were people who said that they should not smoke. He noticed, for instance, that Mr. Carnegie made that statement strongly the other day. He would himself rather any day go with a meal less than go without his tobacco; and did they wish really that workmen should cease to use tobacco? Had they so many pleasures that we grudged them this one? Tea was still more important. It was not, of course, absolutely a necessary of life; but, as a matter of fact, statistics and experience showed that tea was largely used by the working classes, and that the poorer they were the more they used of it, so that in reality it was just as much as corn the food of the people, and the food of the poorest of the people.



If, therefore, the working man's wife had to pay a little more in a week for her bread, and if she got her tea at exactly the same amount less, how much worse off was she at the end of the week? Lord Rosebery, in one of those utterances which he was fond of making and leaving there, suggested that the Government departments of this country ought to be entrusted to business men. How would a business man look at this? He would say: 'Our foreign corn comes from Russia and America, both of which buy nothing from us which they can possibly produce at home. Our tea comes largely from India, which is one of our best customers. Would it not, therefore, be simple common-sense to so adjust the taxation as to improve the buying power of the country which is our customer, and not to benefit the countries which are not our customers?'

P.S.—As I have been considering this question mainly from the Indian point of view, I have not ventured to deal with the revenue aspect, which, of course, must be adequately considered both in England and in India. In England, it is quite clear that the abolition, or at least the considerable reduction, of the tea duties is most likely to be undertaken as part of a general scheme for the readjustment of duties in general, such as that proposed by Mr. Chamberlain. And Indian preference for British manufactures will richly compensate the Mother Country for any loss of revenue from tea. In India, no time could be more opportune for reciprocal concessions to British industries, for the flourishing condition of the Indian finances is admittedly due very largely to the indirect burdens on Indian production to which I have alluded, which might be equitably compensated by British preference.

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## FACTS OF INTEREST AND CURIOUS POINTS IN MOHAMMEDAN LAW.

BY C. D. STEEL, JUDGE U.P. AGRA AND OUDH.

A HOLIDAY task of Mohammedan law may not appear at first sight to be a very attractive one; but a perusal of Syed Amir Ali's "Mohammedan Law"\* gives to a holiday that little extra zest which arises from the conviction that it has not only resulted in health and refreshment, but has also yielded something more of permanent use and interest. The distinction attained by the author is a guarantee of his trustworthiness. He is a Mutazala, one of those "Protestants of the Mussulmans" whose doctrines are spreading rapidly amongst the younger minds.

The book is quite remarkable for the amount of information it gives on matters of almost everyday mention among Europeans in India, concerning which the ideas of the great majority are, to say the least of it, extremely hazy. The author, for instance, quotes Mr. Justice Arnold's judgment in the Khoja case :

*Struggle for the Caliphate.*—"The general expectation of Islam had been that Ali, the first disciple, the beloved companion of the Apostle of God, the husband of his only surviving child Fatima, would be the first Caliph. It was not so to be. The influence of Ayesha, the young and favourite wife of Mahomet, a rancorous enemy of Fatima and of Ali, procured the election of her own father, Abubekr; to Abubekr succeeded Omar, and to him Osman, upon whose death, in the year 665 of our era, Ali was at last raised to the Caliphate.

*Death of Ali.*—"He was not even then unopposed; aided by Ayesha, Muawiyah, of the family of the Ommeyyades,

\* "Mohammedan Law, compiled from the Authorities in the Original Arabic," vol. i., third edition, by Syed Amir Ali, M.A., etc., barrister-at-law, Judge of H.M. High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

contested the caliphate with him, and while the strife was still doubtful, in the year 660 A.D., Ali was slain by a Kharejite, or Mussulman fanatic, in the mosque of Cufa, at that time the principal Mohammedan city on the right or west bank of the Euphrates, itself long since a ruin, at no great distance from the ruins of Babylon.

"This assassination of Ali caused a profound sensation in the Mohammedan world. He was, and deserved to be, deeply beloved, being clearly and beyond comparison the most heroic of that time fertile in heroes—a man brave and wise, and magnanimous and just, and self-denying in a degree hardly exceeded by any character in history. He was, besides, the husband of the only and beloved child of the apostle of God, and their two sons, Hassan and Hussain, had been the darlings of their grandfather, who had publicly given them the title of 'the foremost among the youth of Paradise.'

*Hassan.*—"Of these sons, Hassan, the elder, a saint and a recluse, on the death of his father, sold his birthright of empire to Muawiyah for a large annual revenue, which, during the remainder of his life, he expended in works of charity and religion at Medina. In the year 669 A.D. this devout and blameless grandson of the Apostle of God was poisoned by one of his wives, who had been bribed to that wickedness by Yezid, the son of Muawiyah, and the second of the Ommeiade Caliphs of Damascus.

*Hussain.*—"There thus remained, as head of the direct lineage of the Apostle of God, Hussain, the younger son of Fatima and Ali, a brave and noble man in whom dwelt much of the spirit of his father.

*Battle of Kerbela, 680 A.D.*—"Eleven years after his brother's murder, in the year 680 of our era, yielding to the repeated entreaties of the chief of the people of Irak Arabi (or Mesopotamia), who promised to meet him with a host of armed supporters, Hussain set forth from Medina to Cufa to assert his right to the caliphate against the hated Ommeiades. He crossed the desert with only a feeble

train—his wife, his sister Fatima, two of his sons, and a few armed horsemen—when, on reaching Kerbela, then a desert station about a day's journey from the west bank of the Euphrates, and in the near neighbourhood of Cufa, he found drawn up to meet him a host, not of retainers but of foes. The narrative of what follows is among the most pathetic in all history. The noble son of Ali and Fatima, the favourite grandson of the Apostle of God, after deeds of valour, romantic even in an Arab of that age, fell pierced through and through with the arrows and javelins of the cowardly assailants who did not dare to come within the sweep of his arm. One of his sons and nephew had already been slain in his sight. His other son, his wife, and his sister, were carried away captive to Damascus. They smote off the head of the son of Ali and paraded it in triumph in the streets of Cufa. As it passed along, the brutal Obeidullah, the Governor of the city, struck the mouth of the dead man with his staff. 'Ah!' cried an aged Mussulman whom horror and just wrath made bold, 'what foul deed is that? On those lips I have seen the lips of the Apostle of God.' This tragic event stirred the heart of Islam to its very depth."

*Sources of Mohammedan Law.*—The author states that "the grand superstructure of Islamic jurisprudence is founded on the Koranic laws and the traditional sayings of the Prophet; but much of the coping-stone was supplied at Baghddad, in Bokhara, in Syria, in Andalusia, and Persia. The fundamental bases (for Sunnis) are (1) the Koran; (2) the Hadis or Sunnāt (traditions handed down from the Prophet); (3) the Ijmāa-ul-Ummat (concordance among the followers); and (4) the Kiyas (private judgment).

*Shiahs.*—"The Shiahs do not admit the genuineness of any tradition not received from the Ahl-ul-Bait (the 'People of the House') consisting of Ali and Fatima and their children, and repudiate entirely the validity of all decisions not passed by their own spiritual leaders and Imams. In the application of private or analytical judgment and in

drawing conclusions from the ancient precedents, they also differ widely from the Sunnis." It is pointed out how the schism between Sunnis and Shiahhs originated with dynastic questions, and grew into a separation on doctrinal and legal points; and the bitterness between the two is attributed to the reception which the two accorded to the doctrine of the *Imamate* or "spiritual headship of the Mussulman Commonwealth." The Shiahhs repudiate entirely the authority of the Jama'at (or the universality of the people) to elect a spiritual chief, who should supersede the rightful claims of the persons indicated by the Founder of the Faith; whilst the Sunnis regard the decisions of the assemblies, however obtained, as of œcumenical importance. Ali, when offered the caliphate on the death of Omar, on condition that he should govern in accordance with the precedents established by the two former Caliphs, declined it, declaring that in all cases respecting which he found no positive law or decision of the Prophet, he would rely upon his own judgment.

At first known simply as the Banu-Hashim, the partisans of Ali under Muawiyah began to be called "Shiahhs" or "adherents"; whilst the partisans of Muawiyah were called Amawis. When the Abbasides acquired the dominion, the faction which advocated the principle of election in preference to hereditary succession adopted the name of Ahl-us-Sunnat wa'l Jama'at ("People of the Traditions and Assembly"). According to the Shiah doctrine, the oral precepts of the Prophet are in their nature supplementary to the Koranic ordinances, and their binding effect depends on the degree of harmony existing between them and the laws of the Koran.

*Sunnis.*—The Sunnis, on the other hand, base their doctrines on the entirety of the traditions. They regard the concordant decisions of successive Caliphs, and of the general assemblies (Ijmâa-ul-Ummat) as supplementing the Koranic rules and regulations and as almost equal in authority to them.

*Four Schools of Sunnis.*—The four distinctive juridical

schools among the Sunnis are those of (1) Abu Hanifa (whose doctrines are in force among the major portion of Indian Mussulmans, the Afghans, Turkomans, almost all Central Asian Mohammedans, and the Turks and Egyptians); (2) of Malik-ibn-Ans, whose tenets hold good in Northern Africa, especially in Morocco and Algeria; (3) of Shafei of Ghizeh in Syria, whose doctrines prevail in Northern Africa, in Egypt, in Southern Arabia, in Java, in the Malayan Peninsula, and in Ceylon; and (4) of Ibn Hanbal.

*The "Disciples."*—Abu Hanifa had two celebrated followers—Abu Yusuf and Mahomed—who are so greatly venerated that when they both dissent from their master, the Mussulman judge is at liberty to adopt either of the two decisions which seems to him to be more consonant with reason. Abu Hanifa's dicta should be followed only in religious matters. In judicial decrees in all matters relating to disposition of property, a preference is given to the doctrine of Abu Yusuf, who was an eminent judge. The views of Mohammed should be followed in questions of inheritance.

*Legal Works of the Mussulmans.*—The legal works of the Hanafis are text-books and digests of decisions (Fatāwa). One of the most celebrated of the former is the *Hedaya*, which took Burhan-ud-din of Marghinan in Ferghāna (who died A.D. 1196) thirteen years to write. The glosses on the *Hedaya*, of most repute in India, are the "Nihaya," the "Inaya," the "Ghait-ul-bayan," the "Kifaya," and the "Fath-ul-Kadir." The *Nihaya* is important as supplying the omission of the law of inheritance in the *Hedaya*; but a far better book on this subject is the "Faraiz-us-Sirajiya." The *Hedaya* was translated into Persian and subsequently into English by Mr. Hamilton, under the auspices of Warren Hastings. The chief work in Turkey is the "Multaka-ul-Abhar," by Shaikh Ibrahim, of Aleppo, who flourished under Solyman the magnificent.

Of the Fatāwa, the most important are the Fatāwai Kazi



Khan and the Fatawāi Alamgiri. Kazi Khan was a contemporary of Burhan-ud-din, and his work is received in the courts as of equal authority with the Hedaya. The "Fatawāi Alamgiri" were compiled by the orders of the Emperor Aurangzib Alamgir, and are referred to in Western works as *the Hindieh*. In the original the names of the authorities from which the decisions are collected are invariably given with many of the reasons and often with comments by the compilers, the learned mufti's of the courts. The most practical and well-reasoned work of this class is the "Radd-ul-Mukhtar," by Md. Amin (the Syrian), which contains a critical résumé of previous decisions, the opinions of the most important earlier legists, with a full account of the recognised and accepted principles in modern times. The best-known writer of the Maliki sect is Sidi Khalil, whose encyclopædic work has been translated into French by M. Perron, under the patronage of the French Government. The chief works of the Shiah would seem to be the "Istibsar," the "Nihaya," and the "Mabsut of Md. al Hasan" surnamed the "Shaikh," the *Kitab-ul-Intisar* Murtaza, surnamed "Al Huda" (the guide) of Saiyid, the *Sharaza-ul-Islam*. As to the last, our author says: "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the baleful influence of this legist among the Shiah communities, which have adopted his views. His literal views have paralyzed all movements of the intellects." The "Jamaa-us-Shittat," a grand collection of decisions and dicta, was published within the last century in Persia by the leading mujtahids of Teheran.

*Causes of the Present Stationary Condition of Mohammedan Nations.*—The present stationary condition of the Mohammedan nations as compared with their rapid progress in the early centuries of Islam is due, according to Syed Amir Ali, to the general view that no one who had not obtained to the factitious or empirical stage of judicial knowledge possessed by the mujtahids of the first three centuries can aspire to freedom of legislation or liberty of

judgment. He points out that the same blight has fallen over Shiah ideas by the introduction among the common folk of the Akbari rather than the Usuli doctrine. "The freedom of judgment, he says, "allowed by the latter school gave ample scope to social progress and moral development."

*Rafaa ed Dainism.*—Shafeism now stands forth in the presence of the Sunnis as the embodiment of those aspirations for moral regeneration and legal reform which are agitating so many minds in Islam. In India, under the name of Rafaa ed Dainism, it is measuring strength with Hanafism in its very strongholds. The word Rafaa ed dain means "The raising of the hands." The Shafeis, Malikis, and Hanbalis all do this when uttering the words "Allahu-akbar," (the takbir). The Hanafis raise theirs no higher than their ears and recite the word "Amen" very softly. The right of the non-conformists ("Ghair-mukallids") to say their prayers according to their own ritual in the mosques frequented by Sunnis have formed the subject of much litigation, but it has now been decided that they may do so *so long as they do not interrupt or disturb the worship of others.*

*Curiosities.*—The following are a few curiosities of Mohammedan law. The definition of a "fakir" by Kazi Khan is quoted. He says: "A person is called *fakir*," (indigent) "who has only a lodging" (and nothing more), "and he would be entitled to zakāt" (poor rate or religious alms) "as well as the benefit of a wakf for the poor. Similarly, a person who has only a lodging but no where-withal for a subsistence, though he may have an attendant, is a fakir. A person who has only a few necessary raiments and nothing else is a fakir."

A special legacy of a drum for amusement is null and void, unless it can at the same time be used for warlike purposes and for pilgrimages.

Mohammedan law does not seem to hold that "A pound of feathers is heavier than a pound of lead," for we read



that a person who has hired an animal to carry a certain quantity of cotton would not be at liberty to load the animal with "a similar quantity of iron," since the carriage of the latter would probably be more prejudicial to the animal.

District officers in India will be interested in the following : "Trees planted in a mosque become the property of the mosque, as they are on the same footing as a building erected within the mosque (premises). But trees planted by the side of a public canal or a village reservoir remain the property of the owner, and *he can transplant them.*"

The worn out mats and the broken beams of a mosque may be sold, but this is only lawful on the condition that these articles should serve as fuel.

*Shrewd Sayings.*—The shrewdness of the Prophet and his followers often takes amusing turns. We are told that when a wakf is made for students, and the wakf is small, only poor students will be supported. But generally the word "student" implies want, and when a wakf is made for students in general, it is confined to indigent students alone "for students are almost all in straitened circumstances." The (modern) jurists hold that in these times it is not necessary to apply to the Kazi for the appointment of a mutawali, "as the Kazis of our times have proved themselves not trustworthy." If of two sons one is very pious, and the other is best acquainted with the affairs of the wakf and its management, "the towliat should be given to the latter if he is trustworthy."

*Female Testimony.*—Pace the ladies! "In cases where property only is concerned, the testimony of one witness on oath may be received, *or of one male and two females*, and the testimony of even a single female witness may be received as establishing the right of a legatee to a fourth part of what she testifies to; of two women as supporting his claim to a half, of three as to three-fourths, and of four as to the whole." As to the appointment of executors or guardians, the Mohammedan law will not admit of female testimony.

Lastly, the fifth tradition of the Prophet is to be noted. It runs : "The thing with which a man maintains himself is a charity."

*Interesting Law Points.*—To turn now from these lighter matters to interesting points of Mohammedan law, it is noticeable that, "as a matter of fact, no analogy drawn from English law with regard to trusts and settlements can assist in the comprehension of the Mohammedan law relating to wakfs. Under the English law a perpetuity is bad ; under the Mussulman law, without any difference, perpetuity is an essential element in the constitution of a wakf." Neither the *ces-tui qui* trust nor the manager can grant a lease of wakf property for a long period. The mutawali is a mere manager ; he has no power of mortgage, sale, or lease over the wakf property, even for a necessity, save and except so far as is provided in the wakfnameh.

*Wakf.*—Wakf is the subject treated of at most length in this book. The institution of wakf seems to have been a device to save property from the rapacity of Sovereigns. A wakf, besides being inalienable and non-hereditary, is imprescriptible—that is, it cannot be subject to the rights of the Sovereign as private property.

*Wills.*—M. Sautayra is quoted as follows : "A will from the Mussulman's point of view is a divine institution, since its exercise is regulated by the Koran. It offers to the testator the means of correcting to a certain extent the law of succession, and of enabling some of those relatives who are excluded from inheritance to obtain a share in his goods, and of recognising the services of a stranger, or the devotion to him in his last moments."

The position of an executor differs much from that assigned to him by English law. The legal estate does not rest in him. Abu Yusuf is reported to have said : "To enter upon an executorship for the first time is a mistake, for the second a fraud, and for the third a theft."

*Temporary Marriages.*—Many persons will be interested in the following : "Among the Akhbari Shiahs, or a certain

section of them, temporary contracts of marriage (*mutāa*) are recognised as valid. In such cases the husband has no power of divorcing his wife; the contract being for a stipulated period, fixed by mutual consent, comes to an end by the efflux of the time so fixed, or by the death of either of the parties. They may, however, dissolve the convenient arrangement by mutual consent."

*Mosques, Churches, and Synagogues.*—The law imposes but one limitation over the liberality of those who do not follow the Islamic faith; it forbids their constituting a mosque as beneficiary of their wakf. According to the Shafei doctrine a wakf for the construction of Christian churches or synagogues is void; but a wakf in favour of a hospital for Christians or Jews, made as it is with a pious motive, is lawful. Abu Hanifa, more liberal than his two disciples, allows a Jew or Christian to bequeath his house as a church or synagogue, arguing that the founding of churches or synagogues is held by these persons to be an act of piety, and as we are enjoined to leave them to the exercise of whatever may be agreeable to their faith, the bequest is lawful in conformity with their belief.

The volume now under notice contains the law as to gifts, wakfs, wills, pre-emption, and bailment. The third edition of Vol. II. relating to the personal law of the Mohammedans has not yet been brought out. If it does appear, it will doubtless be of great interest. The general index at the end of the volume now under review seems to want revising. For instance, the word "*Mutazala*" does not appear on p. 12 to which the index refers us.

## YARKAND.

BY E. H. PARKER.

As I explained in the short account which I gave of Kashgar (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1905), the first Chinese mission to the West in B.C. 130 kept well to the north, and did not go near Kashgar or Yarkand, neither of which places is mentioned in the first real Chinese history, written by Sz-ma Ts'ien, and published about B.C. 90. In B.C. 76 it was that the Kashgar-Khoten region was conquered by China from the Hiung-nu (*i.e.*, the Huns of Europe, the Turks of China), and the name So-kü (the modern official name for the *hien* of Yarkand), appears about then for the first time. Of the two known roads to the West, the more southerly lay from Lob Nor to the north of the range still known as the Nan Shan or "Southern Hills," and thence "along the River"—*i.e.*, the Tarim, then erroneously supposed to be the upper course of the Yellow River—westwards to Yarkand.

Previous to the Chinese conquest of B.C. 76, the whole of the Tarim Valley States were a kind of semi-independent foreign preserve, the most westerly of them, at least, under the rule of princes of the Säk or Saca race—that is, we must suppose, under Persians from Sacasthene or Seistan. At the present day the population is stated to consist chiefly of Turkish-speaking Persians and Turkish Sarts; which fact, if correct, thus accords with the Chinese historical data of 2,000 years ago, and with what we know of the Turkish conquests. The Hiung-nu sub-khan, or prince, who ruled the western frontiers of the nomad empire, had a permanent military governor or commissioner stationed at the modern Harashar, then called Yen-k'i, or at one of the affiliated towns within a short radius of that centre; it was the duty of this military commissioner or inspector to keep an eye on the settled regions of what we now call Turkestan, and

to see that full supplies, drafts, tributes, and taxes were duly collected and forwarded by these vassal States for the use of the nomad government.

After the Chinese conquest of B.C. 76, the nomad commissioners at Harashar were naturally discontinued, and as the Chinese soon still further weakened the Hiung-nu power, these horse-riding rovers by degrees found themselves quite unable to get near to the Tarim Valley at all. The first Chinese proconsul in charge of the West was appointed about B.C. 60, and his residence or citadel lay a little to the west of Harashar, on the Yarkand road, in the neighbourhood of the Bukur and Kuché\* of to-day. Chinese colonists were hurried up from the east, "and the So-kü land was divided up"—apparently into several minor principalities.

Yarkand, as it will now be more convenient to style it, is thus described: It is 3,000 miles (9,950 *li*) from the metropolis—*i.e.*, from the Si-ngan Fu of modern times, and lies 4,746 *li* to the south-west of the Chinese proconsul's headquarters (near Kuché), 560 *li* to the east of Kashgar, 740 *li* to the north-east of Sairlik (then called P'u-li), and 380 *li* north-west of P'i-shan (somewhere north of Shahidula). The King of the territory ruled at a city also called So-kü, from which we gather that his whole domain practically consisted of one central town and a circlet of villages and gardens; just as the modern oasis included or includes Tashkurgan, Yanghi-hissar, Posgam, Kargalik, Sanju, Tagarchi, Karchum, Guma, Beshtarik, etc. There were 2,339 households, 16,373 souls, and 3,049 effective troops. After the Chinese conquest, the administrative staff consisted of one lord of the marches—probably the ex-King himself—two generals, two cavalry generals, two military inspectors, and four chief interpreters or translators. Iron and jade are mentioned amongst the trade productions; but it is not made quite clear whether they

\* Even 2,000 years ago the modern Kuché was known by an almost exactly similar name.

came from Yarkand itself or from its immediate neighbourhood.

In my account of the Ephthalite Turks (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1902) it was explained that, between their newly-founded Oxus-Indus empire and the nomad dominions of the Hiung-nu, lay a third Tartar kingdom called by the Chinese Wu-sun. It had been imperialist policy to link this people by marriage to the Chinese interest, and we are told that the younger son of a Chinese princess, who had lived through two successive kings for forty years (B.C. 95-91) in Wu-sun land, was a close personal friend of the Yarkand king. When this Yarkand King died without heirs, it so happened that the young Wu-sun prince in question, who bore the purely Chinese name of Wan-nien ("myriad years") was at the Chinese imperial Court, probably doing duty as a page-hostage. The leading men of Yarkand, anxious to ingratiate themselves with China on the one hand, and with the Wu-sun nomads on the other, submitted a request to the Emperor that Wan-nien might be made the next King of Yarkand. This request was granted, and a special ambassador was accordingly appointed to escort the young man back to his native land and new post. However, his temper proved so vicious that the late King's younger brother soon got up a revolution, murdered both Wan-nien and the Chinese ambassador, and endeavoured to induce the neighbouring states—corresponding to Yanghi-hissar, Kargalik, Kugiar, etc.—to rise against China. It so happened that just then another special Chinese envoy was escorting a Kokand (then called Ta-wan) mission either from or back to the West: this energetic officer secured for himself the co-operation of the neighbouring States, put the usurper to death, and appointed another brother as King of Yarkand. All this took place in the year B.C. 65, and the Emperor heartily approved of it.

Nothing more is heard of Yarkand till A.D. 16, when in China a usurping dynasty intervened for about thirty years between the Early Han (B.C. 200 to B.C. 5) and Later



Han (A.D. 25-220) imperial houses. The usurper sent a general "at the head of 7,000 Yarkand and Kuché troops" to take possession of Harashar. This the general did, but he soon lost his life in the struggles which went on there; and the Chinese usurper himself died in A.D. 23, after which the western regions were totally isolated from China for some little time, and nomad Hiung-nu overpower was re-established. There was one exception, however, in the case of Yarkand, whose King was sufficiently strong in his own resources to resist all nomad dictation. This King had, during the reign period B.C. 49-33, also been a page at the Chinese Court, and had in consequence conceived a liking for civilized ways, besides gaining some insight into the workings of law and of Court functions. He was, therefore, always careful to impress upon his sons the wisdom and importance of faithfully serving the interests of the imperial Chinese house. This ruler died in A.D. 18, and was rewarded for his loyalty to China with the posthumous title of *Fidus Martius*. His son not only resisted nomad encroachments, but, on the accession of the Later Han dynasty at Loh-yang (Ho-nan Fu) in A.D. 25, he succeeded in safely convoying the Chinese proconsul, with his staff escort and camp following, safely back, after many years of helpless isolation, to the Chinese frontier (near Marco Polo's "Erguiul"). For this service the Yarkand ruler in question was created in A.D. 29 "Meritorious and Grateful King, under Han,\* of Yarkand," and was also appointed Military Inspector over the fifty-five Turkestan States. The reign of this semi-independent monarch closed in A.D. 33, when he also received a posthumous title of honour. His younger brother and successor extended his conquests south and east to the modern Yularik and Kerya, setting two of his own nephews up in place of the native sub-kings of those places, and carrying his hegemony

\* Later on, in A.D. 229, Vasudêva, the Kushan or Indo-Scythian king, was in the same way created "king, under Wei," etc.—i.e., when the Han dynasty had been replaced by that of Wei (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1902).

even so far as Lob Nor,\* along with whose King he sent tribute to China in A.D. 38. This was the zenith of Yarkand's power, which has never been equalled since, even under the ephemeral empire of Yakub Beg in our own times.

In the year 41 the ambitious satrap of Yarkand sent an envoy to solicit the appointment of Chinese Proconsul of the West in his own person. The Emperor himself was a little doubtful about the wisdom of entrusting so much power to a foreigner; however, after some deliberation in council, a special envoy was sent to confer the imperial title, and to carry suitable presents, along with the necessary insignia of rank. The Chinese frontier governor of Tun-hwang (Marco Polo's Sacchiou) remonstrated against the imprudence of confiding in a "Tartar barbarian" to this unprecedented extent, in consequence of which the proconsular seal was suddenly recalled whilst on its way, and a military seal as Chinese generalissimo was conferred instead. As the Yarkand envoy, who seems to have carried with him on his return the original full-powers, declined to exchange them for the inferior dignity, the Governor of Sacchiou effected the transfer by force, in consequence of which the irate King of Yarkand not only made unauthorized use of the full proconsular title, but even conceived a hatred for China, and adopted besides the nomad title of *jenuyeh*,† or "Supreme Khan," to show his independence of the Hiung-nu. Abusing his power to overtax the neighbouring sub-states, he carried his victorious arms from time to time into Kuché and elsewhere. The result was that, in A.D. 45, the eighteen more easterly kingdoms corresponding to the regions of modern Turfan, Harashar, Lob Nor, etc., sent special envoys with presents and page-hostages to China, expressing a prayer that a genuine proconsul might be once

\* See *Anglo-Russian Society Journal* for 1902, "Dr. Sven Hedin and Lob Nor," pp. 24-41.

† The *shen-yü* (Deguignes' and Gibbon's "*Tan-jou*") of the Hiung-nu, and the title still used in A.D. 1000 by the Ghuz Turks (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1904, "Some New Facts about Marco Polo").



more established. But the new Emperor of China had not even yet sufficiently established the "restoration" dynasty of Han on a strong basis, and was unwilling to risk his military power so far west; the result was that Yarkand's pretensions became more aggressive than ever, and the other discontented States were obliged to satisfy themselves with a private understanding (approved by the Emperor), under which their hostages to China were kept "on show" at Sacchiou "until such time as the Chinese proconsul should arrive," hoping by this piece of "bluff" at least to frighten Yarkand into moderation. This plan succeeded until the year 46, when the King, finding that the oft-threatened wolf did not come, ordered the King of Lob Nor to close the road leading to China. This arrogant demand was met by the instant decapitation of the envoy who brought it. War, of course, ensued; Yarkand was victorious; and the King of Lob Nor had to fly to the hills with a loss of 1,000 prisoners. The triumphant King of Yarkand now proceeded to annex Kuché and to murder its ruler. The hostages at Sacchiou, hearing of these untoward events, fled back in all haste to their respective native countries. An urgent appeal to the Emperor from Lob Nor explained that, unless China sent immediate help, there would be nothing for it but to ask protection from the Hiung-nu once more. As the Emperor was still not prepared to act, this political move actually took place, both Turfan and Lob Nor throwing themselves humbly upon the nomad mercy. Such action only made Yarkand the more overbearing: one of its westernmost sub-states in the Pamir region revolted, and was crushed; Kuché was divided into two kingdoms; and the puppets whom Yarkand set up to rule these refractory regions proved so unsatisfactory that their populations were also driven into seeking Hiung-nu protection, in consequence of which the nomad power set up a Kuché king of their own. Yarkand's suzerainty seems to have extended westwards as far as Kokand, for we find an army made up of the troops of the various sub-states

marching under Yarkand in order to enforce payment of Kokand's taxes. It appears to have been part of Yarkand's fixed policy\* to transfer one king to another's kingdom, and *vice versa*; and in this way we next hear of Samarcand (then called K'ang-kii) attacking the King of Kerya, whom Yarkand had set upon the Kokand throne, and of the Khoten king being moved to a neighbouring throne, whilst a Yarkand prince was appointed to Khoten. So insecure, however, did the Supreme King of Yarkand feel under this system of manipulation, that he ended by summoning to a durbar, and then assassinating, the Kings of Kerya, Khoten, Yaka-aryk, and Kugiar (or perhaps Yularik), and decided to appoint military governors of his own instead of native kings in future. This new arrangement did not work well in Khoten; war soon broke out, and a native Khoten pretender, after various plots and counterplots, succeeded in inflicting two very serious defeats upon the Yarkand forces (A.D. 60). Kuché, under Hiung-nu guidance, made an ineffectual attempt to crush Yarkand altogether, and at last the new King of Khoten managed to obtain recognition from, and to conclude a peace with, Yarkand. Next year, however, the treacherous King of Khoten, although connected with the Yarkand family by several family ties, once more made war; captured by a ruse the King of Yarkand; and, after keeping him in confinement for a year or more, killed him. Meanwhile the Hiung-nu, hearing that Khoten had taken the place of Yarkand as the leading settled state, despatched five generals to raise 30,000 troops in Harashar, Kuché, and thirteen other of the easterly group of states. Khoten was besieged, surrendered, and gave hostages to the nomads, undertaking to pay tribute in carpets and silk floss. The son of the late King of Yarkand, who had meanwhile been a hostage with the Hiung-nu, was appointed by them to be King of Yarkand: but the Khoten king would not tolerate this, made war upon him, and killed

\* It will be seen later on that the modern Manchus acted in the same way.

him, setting a brother of his own on the Yarkand throne instead. This was in the year 86, and some years after China had decided to intervene actively once more in western affairs, in the effective manner about to be explained.

In A.D. 73 the celebrated soldier-diplomat, Pan Ch'ao (brother of Pan Ku, the author of the Early Han History), by a *coup d'état* at Lob Nor at one blow decapitated the Hiung-nu resident ambassadors there, and secured the place for China once more. Khoten, Kashgar, and Yarkand followed suit; their troops, reinforced by Indo-Scythians, Samarcandians, and Wu-sun, supported Pan Ch'ao in his attack upon the refractory State of Kuché, whose power included modern Aksu and Yaka-aryk further west. It was not until the year 87, however, that Yarkand, which from time to time coquetted with, or was constrained by Kuché when Chinese support was not at hand, was finally conquered by Pan Ch'ao. After thirty-one years' service in Turkestan, Pan Ch'ao went home to die in A.D. 102. Yarkand repeatedly attempted to throw off the Khoten yoke, and at last, subsequently to 119, fell under the supremacy of Kashgar. In 130 the King of Kashgar (appointed by the Indo-Scythians)\* sent a page-hostage to China in company with the envoys of Kokand and Yarkand. During the short existence (220-265) of the Wei dynasty, the "south road" was considered to run *viâ* Khoten, which was the predominant power. On the central road there were three great states, Harashar, Kuché, and Kashgar; and Yarkand still belonged to the last named.

For three centuries† Chinese influence now disappeared from Turkestan. During the fifth century, when the Toba Tartars ruled the northern half of China, So-kü is barely mentioned; it is stated that, after going west from the place to the Ts'ung-ling Mountains, you continued west for

\* See "Dr. Sved Hedin and Lob Nor," p. 31, and "The Ephthalite Turks" as cited above.

† See "Kashgar" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1905).

another 400 miles (1,300 *li*) to a place called K'a-pei, identified with some part of modern Wakhan, or the old Kapiça ; whilst, after going south-west to the same mountains, a second road continued south-west 1,300 *li* to Po-lu (the Buruts of Baltistan). So far as the city itself was concerned, the old name had entirely disappeared, and another town, either on or near the old site, had sprung up under the name K'ü-so, by which, according to such Chinese etymological rules as are known, we must suppose some such sound as "Gusa" is meant.

During the whole period of Turkish (550-670) and Tibetan (670-692) domination in the Tarim Valley, So-kü is not once mentioned, nor is K'ü-so ; nor is it at all clear whether the old city still existed, and, if so, under what name, belonging to which preponderant state. Just as had been the case at the beginning of our era, the Chinese proconsuls in charge of the West still had their headquarters at Kuché ; or at Turfan alternately. The Arabs, after their long struggle with the Turks in the Bokhara regions, are known to have influenced Khoten ;\* but, though Kashgar resisted the Arabs, not a word is said of Yarkand, which, indeed, only at last re-appears after a long sleep of 1,000 years, and under its new and present name. It appears that when the Nüchêns (early Manchus) turned the Kitans out of North China (1120), and the branch of the Kitans known as Kara-Kitans went west to found an empire in Kerman,† then it was that Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khoten soon fell under Kara-Kitan sway, which was ultimately established centrally at Ghuz Ordo (between Tashkend and Issyk-Kul). After that the Naiman Tartars imposed their yoke for a short time. In 1218 Genghis Khan's general, Chebé, assisted by a Kara-Kitan renegade, took possession of the above cities, and by degrees broke up the whole Kara-Kitan empire. In this connection the Chinese historians who recount the events spell the word *Ya-r-k'ien*, and this

\* See "Kashgar," above cited.

† See Colonel Sykes' "Persia" (John Murray), pp. 60, 304.

seems to be absolutely the first appearance of the new word in Chinese history. During the war of 1262 between Kublai Khan and his brother Arik-buka, the place is called *Ye-li-k'ien*. In 1274 thirteen post-stations—apparently established on the rivers crossed *en route*—were organized by Kublai between Khoten and *Ya-r-k'an*; the same year imperial relief was granted to the needy populations of Kashgar, Khoten, and Yarkand. This brings us down almost to the year of Marco Polo's arrival there on his way to China; he describes the provinces of Cascar, Yarcán, and Cotán—all Muhammadan in religion, but the former two containing Nestorians also. Kashgar was then (as we see the Chinese assert) under the dominion of Kublai; but Marco Polo says Yarkand formed part of Kublai's nephew Kaidu's dominions; which is not unlikely, as Kublai was alternately "off" and "on" in his relations with Kaidu. During the Ming dynasty (1368-1643) Yarkand is only once mentioned, and then under the name of *Ya-r-kan*; it figures among the petty *ti-mien*, or "localities," sending tribute, but not ranking as a "State." No doubt, like Kashgar, it was under the influence of Shah Rukh, with whom the Chinese had relations, as they had long had with his grandfather Tamerlane. In 1603 Bernard Goes found Yarkand to be the chief town of Kashgar province. Possibly the "Tanghetar" which he visited is a misprint or misapprehension for "Yanghi-hissar," or possibly Yenghi-shar, or the "new city" of Yarkand. In his time the old Mongol Khans still reigned at Hami, Turfan, and Yarkand, the last being more or less a suzerain. But in 1644-1645 Mahmud (the twenty-sixth *beighember* in direct descent from Muhammad), coming from Bagdad, took possession of at least some of the Kashgarian cities. It appears, however, that so late as 1686, Suliman, direct in descent from Genghis Khan, was still reigning at Yarkand, and that other branches of Mahmud's family took possession of Wakhan and Afghanistan, and possibly of Kokand.

During the Manchu wars with Galdan the Eleuth in 1696 (half a century after the Manchu conquest of China), *Ye-r-k'in* is stated to possess "20,000 of our Mussulman troops, sufficient to prevent Galdan from seeking to reach Kokonor *viâ* that route." The ruler of Yarkand was then Abdul Schid (or Seyid?), who appears to have been taken prisoner by the Emperor, and subsequently to have been sent back honourably to his country, which had, together with Samarcand, Bokhara, the Pamirs, Issyk-Kul, Kashgar, etc., some time before been subdued by the Eleuths. In 1712 *Ye-r-kên* is mentioned with Bokhara as one of the cotton-producing regions, a point of importance to China in the manufacture of wadded armour. In 1719 *Ye-r-kên* and Kerya (near Khoten) are mentioned as being on the route of the Eleuth armies from Ili to Tibet. In 1745 a trade is mentioned between Yarkand (*Ye-r-k'iang*) and Ladakh. In 1755 Bulad Khodjo of Kashgar was employed by China to endeavour to obtain the surrender of Yarkand, to which place the To-lun\* (? Taranchi) Mussulmans were moved in 1758 by Borhan-Uddin, grandson of Abdul. Both Kashgar and Yarkand surrendered to the victorious Chinese in 1759, and a commemorative stone—probably still there—was set up in Yarkand. The Yarkand oasis was then found to contain 27 towns, 30,000 houses, and over 100,000 souls. Its annual tribute, when subject to the domination of the Eleuths of Ili, was 100,000 *denge*,† besides taxes or drafts on gold (from the Zerafshan, or "gold-bestowing" river), on cotton, piece-goods, leather, women, and animals. It now became the chief Manchu political centre, whence political negotiations were conducted with Kokand, Badakshan, and other places beyond the mountains. Ultimately the *amban* took

\* According to Lord Dunmore, at the time of the Arab conquests Kashgaria was styled by them "Turan," or "Mulki Tartar."

† One *denge* counted as 50 "cash" of red Yarkand copper. The Eleuths used to demand annually from Kashgar 40,898 *padma* (about 10,000 tons) of grain. The native coin called *pur* was one-fifth of a *denge*, and in it poll-taxes were paid.



up his residence at Kashgar, with *akim-begs* over the chief eleven cities, each city with from six to a dozen townships under it. The four western oases are Kashgar, Yarkand, Yanghi-hissar, and Khoten; the four eastern are Ush, Aksu, Kuché, and Pidjan; making up, with Hami, Hara-shar, and Turfan, the total of eleven. China now contented herself, at least nominally, with a general 5 per cent. tax on both Yarkand and Kashgar, the chief centres of Hindoo and Persian trade; the other towns were not taxed imperially. Among the private perquisites of the Manchu Residents was trade in jade from the Mirdai Mountains, 400 *li* distant from Yarkand. In 1764 the Manchu-appointed Resident at Yarkand seems to have been one Yü-su-p'u (? Joseph), described as being a descendant of a former King of Hami. To this man fell the duty of arranging certain diplomatic difficulties with Badakshan, whose ruler appears to have been related to Emin Khodjo, the previous sub-King of Yarkand. In 1770 Narbad succeeded his father Erdeni as ruler of Kokand, and was instructed by the Emperor to "go on obeying the directions he should receive from Kashgar and Yarkand." In 1775 certain allotments of land were made to the Yarkand population. In the summer of 1778 one Osman was appointed by the Emperor to succeed his deceased father Otei as *akim-beg* of Yarkand; but before long Otei was transferred to Kashgar, and Setiparti of Kashgar was ordered to Yarkand. Soon there were complaints of tyranny and corruption, more especially in connection with the Mirdai jade quarries. According to rule, the Khoten and Yarkand jade\* had to be sent every spring and autumn to Peking. In 1788 the Yarkand "duke" Setiparti died; his eldest son, Maimut-Abdulla, succeeded to the Manchu *pei-tsz*, or "dukedom," of Yarkand, and to the *akim-beg* duties of Kashgar; whilst one Iskandar was nominated from Yarkand to the vacant *akim-beg* post of Kashgar. Thus it appears to have been Manchu policy to "keep the

\* This fact corresponds with what was stated nearly 2,000 years earlier.

ball rolling" between these two centres, and to prevent too much political root being taken by their nominees at either place. Both centres had to send annual tribute of horses, along with Ili, until the Emperor's abdication in 1796, when, on account of the distance and difficulty of communication, Kashgar and Yarkand were freed from this impost. In 1799 steps were taken to lighten the burden of having to send enormous blocks of jade, which often failed to reach the Emperor at all; and the Yarkand Mussulmans engaged in forced irrigation labours were exempt from half their poll-tax. In 1803 it was found possible to withdraw certain Manchu guard-posts at the out-stations.

The Chinese had in 1761 mercifully spared Borhan-Uddin's son, Samsak, then at Yarkand, and aged only seven years. When he grew up to manhood, he promptly began intriguing with Kokand; and in 1797 Narbad, acting under orders from Peking, just prevented Samsak from actually attacking Kashgar. In 1811 Samsak is spoken of as being dead, and his son Yü-su-p'u (? Joseph) seems to be carrying on a persistent intrigue for the recovery of Yarkand and Kashgar to the *beighember* interest. In 1814 the Yarkand *akim-beg* is one Maihamut (? Muhammad) Osan; and in 1821 the English barbarians are found corresponding, through one Connell, with the same *akim-beg* of Yarkand, with a view to trade in horses, etc., and to getting through to Bokhara. The correspondence discloses that "England has now held Wëntustan for fifty or sixty years, Cashmir and 'Indi' alongside of it also accepting her sovereignty." "As a matter of fact," says the Emperor in reply, "no notice need be taken of obscure barbarians, whose proper trading-place is Canton; still, precautions must be taken, and the Cashmir Mussulman traders at Yarkand might be instructed to make further inquiry."

Meanwhile Jehangir, another son of Samsak, who seems to have been connected by blood with the ruling house

of Kokand, was slowly but surely gathering round him a formidable Mussulman following. By 1826 both Kashgar and Yarkand had fallen into his hands, and the Manchus were compelled to undertake a very serious campaign, in which Isaac, *akim-beg* of Aksu, did good service. Kashgar and Yarkand were retaken in 1827, and in 1828 Jehangir was captured and sent to Peking, where he was put to death under circumstances of great barbarity. The Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khoten oases were now re-organized, and trading arrangements with Badakshan and Kokand were placed on a new footing; but in 1831 it was thought best to make Yarkand the chief administrative centre.

During the next twenty years the complicated history of these parts chiefly centres around the intrigues connected with Kokand and Andijan trade. In 1852 Aimad, the *akim-beg* of Yarkand, son of Isaac above-mentioned, laid before the Emperor a formal complaint about the corruption of the Manchu Resident; but in 1853 we find Aimad himself being subjected to punishment for black-mailing the local trade; he endeavoured to redeem his offences by offering assistance against the T'ai-p'ing rebels. In 1862 the *akim-beg* Maimad Hassem died, and the Manchu Resident proposed his son as successor. In 1864 Yarkand fell, and Yenghishar with Kashgar was also a prey to military revolt. Then comes the substitution of Yakub Beg for Buzurg Khan (the heir to Jehangir), and finally the reconquest by China from Yakub's son in 1877 of the Atalik Ghazi's ephemeral empire.

## JAPAN AND THE PEACE.

BY R. G. CORBET.

WHEN the representatives of the Mikado at Portsmouth agreed to terms which filled the world with amazement, the newspapers, as was to be expected, burst forth into a chorus of eulogy of the humanitarian motives that had prompted all concerned, especially lavishing praise upon President Roosevelt as a benefactor of mankind. But it at once struck those not content to look at the surface that there must be something else beneath it. As a rule, "business is business"—at any rate, in this commercial age—in the case of nations no less than of individuals. It is only Britain who makes presents to people that give her no thanks for them. It accordingly seemed perfectly incredible that Japan, who had the game in her own hands both by sea and land, should spontaneously acquiesce in what the Russians openly boasted of as a brilliant diplomatic victory.

Signs soon began to appear in confirmation of the doubt that she had acted of her own free will in the matter. The Government behaved as though ashamed of what it had done, and afraid to let the people hear news certain to prove unwelcome. It took every precaution to break this very gently to those in the islands, whilst, as regards the troops in the field, it went so far as to stipulate that they should not be informed of the cessation of hostilities until the treaty had actually been signed and the national honour pledged. But the best proof that the Japanese had not at a stroke been turned into disciples of Mr. Gladstone was furnished the moment some idea of what had happened filtered through. The conditions of which they were told caused them the same pang of pained surprise that all friends of Japan had experienced before them, and in so marked a degree that they actually cast aside their usual

impenetrable veil of reserve, and entered a violent protest, in the shape of public disturbances, against the agreement come to with the enemy. And in this the followers of every party were at one.

Their indignation is easy to understand, but the reason of its intensity and of the form taken by it is not so obvious; hence, as much light has been thrown upon this by one of the very few persons competent to do so, it may not be amiss to introduce him to the reader. To this end it must be explained that Italian journalism, which had, as a rule, been highly unsatisfactory up to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, was moved to sudden activity by it. Previously the most meagre and inaccurate telegrams had been considered quite sufficient where all foreign news was concerned; now one paper after another began to announce that it had made arrangements to procure a full account of events abroad, particularly in the Far East. Among the journals that most distinguished themselves in this connection was the rather sleepy *Corriere della Sera* of Milan. This appeared to have been electrified into new life by the conflict, since which it has become the best paper for news in North Italy, not to say in the whole Peninsula. Hence, the *Corriere* sent out a correspondent of its own, Signor Luigi Barzini, to the seat of war, and his letters thence were every whit as interesting and authentic as those of the best Anglo-Saxon correspondents—a phenomenon observed for perhaps the first time in the history of Italian journalism. The reason is that Signor Barzini is a cosmopolitan, whose sympathy with those among whom he was thrown enabled him to put himself completely in their place. One of the consequences was that he, who appreciated the difficulties of the Japanese at Liaoyang, remained in their midst when several of his colleagues marched off in a huff, because their hosts did not carry on the war with a special view to providing copy for the papers; and a further result was that he alone, with two men belonging to news agencies, represented the

Fourth Estate on the Japanese side at the Battle of Mukden, with regard to which he was presented with a number of secret documents and plans that give his coming book on the subject a unique value.

This digression has proved somewhat longer than was intended, but it had better remain unaltered, as a knowledge of Signor Barzini's qualifications adds point to his remarks.

What struck him especially in the riots was the departure they showed from the customary attitude. There are two things which the Japanese treat as if they were the most sacred duties: an unquestioning conformity to the Imperial will, and the complete suppression in public of his own feelings. Tale after tale has come from the Far East of the heroic degree to which these observances were carried—how, for instance, men and even women would smile, and maintain every outward appearance of cheerfulness, while their heart was oppressed with the loss of those nearest and dearest to them. "The grievance must be very bitter indeed," said Signor Barzini, "that could cause such a people to abandon its traditional impassibleness even for a moment"; and he went on to explain in what this grievance consisted.

To the outsider it would appear that Japan, having been granted practically all that she asked for before the war, ought to have reconciled herself to the position, the more so as the Muscovite no longer threatened her in the Far East, where her ascendancy seemed assured, and the whole world had been compelled to give her unqualified recognition as a first-rate Power. She had not received the indemnity claimed, it is true, which had loomed large in the discussion; but this, after all, was not an item the people's heart was set upon. What, then, was the cause of her fury?

Signor Barzini traces it back to old wrongs, of which the Treaty of Portsmouth was deemed a perpetuation. They began when, as a matter of course, Japan was robbed



of Karafto, an island which she has never ceased to regard as part of the national territory, whilst for years afterwards her moral qualities, like her mental and material progress, were ignored, and she had to put up with the contemptuous treatment meted out to inferiors. Among the insults that hurt her more than even the loss of Karafto was the obligation imposed upon her to open her ports, under humiliating conditions, to the foreigner ; the hated consular jurisdiction within her borders lasting until she defeated China. A fresh injury then took the place of that just at an end : several of the Powers combined to deprive her of the fruits of her victory, the rest placidly consenting. The series of tyrannical acts which to us was understood seemed, indeed, to tell of a conspiracy against all her efforts to assume the position in the world for which she felt herself fitted, and it was in constant fear of the usual interference that she nervously watched every phase of the recent war.

The people never ceased to expect occult pressure, open threats, or oppression in some other shape, naked or disguised, to step once more between them and their due. In their feverish anxiety to ward off this calamity, they kept their desires steadfastly before the authorities ; the terms of peace were discussed on all hands, resolutions on the subject were passed at meetings of every political colour, the Press devoted frequent articles to the conditions, and, as each Russian reverse helped to bring them within the range of practical politics, Statesmen like Baron Okuma interpreted the general aspiration by giving them concrete form. On the other hand, the Government, by means of the official organs, tranquillized all and sundry, assuring them that the time had at last come when Japan would receive complete satisfaction for all the wrongs she had suffered, and would triumphantly take her seat as an equal in the council of the nations. Then, all at once, instead of this happy consummation, the darkest popular forebodings were realized by the news from Portsmouth.

Elsewhere this had been received with hesitation, and

believed to be merely a cloak for secret clauses which really gave Japan what was ostensibly denied her; for people could not persuade themselves that she had so extensively gone back from her demands. But no confirmation of this sanguine surmise was forthcoming; only the bare fact proved true that the Japanese had acted as if they felt unable to carry on the war—an implicit confession that could not but lessen the esteem in which they had been held. And they naturally asked themselves why their emissaries had stated the premises that led to this conclusion. Russia insisted that her honour would not allow her to give up an inch of her territory. What had induced Japan to give up half of Karafto, that part of the national inheritance which she had just recovered from the despoiler? Was Dai Nippon vanquished, that she had given way almost all along the line?

Two explanations had been offered abroad: that her army in Manchuria was not equal to defeating the enemy when the expected great battle took place, and that her financial position was such that she must stop the war at any cost. In the course of a conversation with him—which, with an article of his in the *Corriere*, has furnished the bulk of the materials for this paper—Signor Barzini declared that the former hypothesis was untenable: a Japanese victory was as certain as such things ever can be. The people knew this perfectly well, and paid no attention to the theory of their military impotence; but the other found an echo in their own thoughts.

They saw the secret methods of diplomacy neutralize their victories once more, and when they asked themselves how this had been done, the most plausible conclusion they could come to was that, beneath the veil of the usual honeyed phraseology, Japan must have been threatened with the refusal of foreign financial assistance if she carried hostilities any further. She was to consent to the terms the Russian representatives were pleased to grant her, which were, in the main, but the fulfilment of the promises their country had

repeatedly made before the war to the whole world, and therefore served other purposes besides hers; she should not insist upon more, under pain of the displeasure of the American plutocracy. The motive for this ultimatum, again, was not difficult to guess. The United States, whose sympathies were at first on the side of Japan, had latterly begun to view the prospects of her unchecked expansion with no little uneasiness; and in this her people had the key to President Roosevelt's humanitarianism. What must have exasperated them most of all was the part played by us. They had entered willingly into the first alliance with Great Britain, whose undertaking to prevent hostile intervention they foresaw would prove invaluable in a conflict with Russia; but they were by no means equally enthusiastic with regard to the second, which, it was commonly said in Tokio, gave them nothing and England everything. The Battle of Tsushima, indeed, had made the assistance of the British fleet practically superfluous, while that of Japan's army would probably be of no little advantage if Russia attacked India; for, even supposing our troops there to be the finest in the world, there were very few of them when compared to the enormous host which the Russians had shown they could bring into the field, and to which Japan's hundreds of thousands, in the plural number, bore a far more just proportion.

Sir Thomas Holditch, by the way, concludes, in the October *Fortnightly Review*, that Britain's master-stroke in securing them on her side will, on the whole, be appreciated by people like the Afghans; and this is good news. It is not equally satisfactory to hear that they think Russia to be a Mohammedan power, whereas she is emphatically the reverse. If we have thus far allowed them to believe anything so mischievous, we should lose no further time in opening their eyes to the fact that, even with Bokhara and Khiva, she has less than 12 millions of Mohammedans in a population of nearly 130 millions. That she is more Asiatic than European in her methods, on the other hand, is

undeniable; and there is no reason to find fault with this impression.

But to return to the Japanese. They have seen us hurry on the conclusion of the second alliance before the end of the negotiations at Portsmouth, apparently to forestall one between them and Russia; and then, after getting all we wanted for ourselves, we seem to have drawn back and left Japan unsupported in her diplomatic fight, instead of offering her the capital which would have enabled her to defeat the Russo-American combination.

If the Japanese thus accounted for what had taken place, as may be gathered from Signor Barzini's remarks, it becomes easier to understand the riots and the attack made upon the British Legation, of all others, as well as upon the missionaries identified with us in the minds of all Asiatics.

Japan has now returned to her Sphinx-like attitude, so we need expect nothing more from her, save polite praise of the advantages which she has gained through her alliance with us, and through the Portsmouth treaty. But in the riots she has given us a momentary insight into her real feelings, all the more worthy of study because such revelations are rare.

## SOME HINDUSTANI PROVERBS.

COLLECTED BY THE LATE WILLIAM YOUNG, C.S.I., JUDICIAL  
COMMISSIONER OF OUDH.

WHAT manner of man is the average Hindu or the average Muhammadan of India? The physical peculiarities of our Indian fellow-citizens are tolerably familiar nowadays to the British public. But how much is known of their intellectual and moral calibre, of their social instincts, their civil and political aptitudes? Is not all this nearly a sealed book to most of us who live in Britain?

Yet British influence upon Indian affairs is now a vastly different thing from what it was fifty or even thirty years ago. Someone has said that if ever we lose India we shall lose her in the House of Commons. Certain it is that schemes of the gravest import are commonly initiated there for the supposed benefit of India, and British statesmen are more and more venturesome and comprehensive in their dealing with Indian problems.

We are far from pronouncing this fact to be an unmixed evil. But this much at least is clear—namely, that only the fullest knowledge, the most patient inquiry, and the calmest judgment, can properly qualify our rulers for the new and arduous duties they now assume. The necessity devolves upon us of acquiring more extensive and more intimate acquaintance with the life-habits of our Indian fellow-subjects, with their modes of thought and feeling, their ruling fears and passions, their commonest aspirations. Such knowledge is hard of acquirement. Men may live all their lives in India and never gain it. The outward facts lie patent to all, but their hidden meanings can only be read by him who has the divine gift of sympathy. Very slowly and painfully, bit by bit, the portions of the puzzle must be gathered, and at last pieced together into a well-fitting whole.

Political life is almost unknown in India. Corporate institutions, as we know them, exist only in the Presidency towns ; and almost the only purely native examples of large associations are the still surviving village communities. Religious co-operation among the Hindus is feeble ; but its place is more than filled by the powerful and universally prevalent system of caste. Individual life is (within certain limits, chiefly prescribed by caste) extraordinarily free. Provided caste rules be obeyed, there is scarcely any length to which the Hindustani may not go, both in word and deed, without any fear of the ban of his society.

Perhaps no clearer landmarks of common thought and sentiment are to be found—at least, are easily to be found—than in the proverbs prevalent among a people. Whatever intrinsically their worth, they show at least what such people esteems to be wisdom. In India the use of proverbs, adages, sententious distichs, or quatrains, is extremely frequent. High and low alike love them, and the judicious introduction of an old favourite will at once put the stranger in touch with a native interlocutor. The stolid face will brighten, the formal manner be laid aside, and sympathy and interest be at once awakened. No one can claim to know India well who has not some acquaintance with its proverbs, while the proficient student of Indian maxims will often be better able to comprehend the workings of the native mind than many a man who has spent a life in Calcutta or Bombay untinctured by native lore.

The task of conveying to an English reader an adequate idea of Indian proverbs is by no means easy. The genius of Eastern language differs very widely from that of English, while the excessive conciseness of many Hindu adages often makes a literal translation simply unintelligible. In the effort of the translator to be perspicuous, too often the charm of equipoise, the sparkle, are inevitably lost.

The Hindustani place-hunter is perhaps the most assiduous in the world. The sweet simplicity of a monthly salary, paid by a paymaster who never fails, has something



ineffably attractive to the Eastern mind. No more buffeting with the winds and waves of Fortune! "Stick to your patron's skirt, and take care it is a strong one," says one proverb, which at least is believed in without faltering faith. The patron is to the *umēdwār* (place-hunter) the *punctum stans* in a very shaky world.

Get *sifārish* (good recommendations) above all, for, says the proverb :

"Sifārish-i-kutta bih az asp-i-tāzi"

(Better than Arab horse, a dog well recommended).

It is, alas! but too true that many a *sifārish-i-kutta* (dog strongly recommended) owes his post at this moment (and in some cases a high post) mainly to the fact that he had *sifārish*. "Remember Dowb" is as much a household word in India as in England. Of course the man must not be an impossible person. He must be decently presentable for his post, for, says the Persian :

"Halwa khurdan ra rui bāyad"

(To eat sweetmeats, one must have a mouth).

While the place-seeker should never neglect his lord's levée, should be ever humble, strenuous and ready to stick at nothing, there is in native opinion a correlative duty owed to him by the patron.

"Jo jāke sarau basse

Wāki wāko laj"

(The hero shames to yield

The wretch beneath his shield).

A native master feels his own honour impugned when his servant is attacked, and to the utmost of his ability will aid and screen even the humblest follower should the latter get into any scrape. Should a retainer find himself at odds with the myrmidons of justice about some trespass, little or big, the master would instantly furnish the accused with legal assistance to defend himself, and not improbably would cause bribes to be distributed right and left on the man's behalf—in fact, would do all for him that he would wish done for himself in like case.

Nevertheless, the general verdict is that service is a hard life, and that agriculture is the only really worthy occupation.

“ Ootim khéti  
Maddam Bau  
Nikasht chákari  
Bhik Nidau ”

(Farming is the best trade ;  
Commerce pretty fair ;  
Service was by Devil made ;  
Better beg, I swear).

No wonder the Hindu praises the kind earth which provides so abundantly for all his wants. The fertility of the soil (despite overcropping and waste of manure for fuel) is marvellous, and in ordinary seasons provides all men with ample food in return for a moderate expenditure of labour. For nine months out of twelve a thatch suffices for shelter, a waistcloth and turban for garments. The “boon air” is itself a garment. The halt, maimed, blind, receive a sustenance freely yielded (without Poor Laws) by public charity. The obverse of the medal is seen, no doubt, in those dreadful times when famine year comes round. The agony of such a time those only know who have lived through it. The hot, breathless, brazen skies ; the dusty, whitened land ; the burnt-up herbage ; the leafless trees ; the dumb suffering of the cattle, and the human agony—all these sear into the brain the picture of famine in colours that last the lifetime. Yet, even in such dire straits, it is the peasantry who can endure the longest. The subsisters on charity suffer first ; next, the old men (like our hedgers and ditchers) ; then the petty village artificers and the servants of the poorer sort ; and, lastly, the small shopkeepers and the peasantry themselves.

The happiness of a Hindu *chuprassi* (orderly) is perfect when he can get three clear hours from the solid day for his dinner. He will squat down, unclothe, wash his hands, knead and bake his damper, cook his pease-porridge, and then proceed slowly to eat through the huge pile of moist

crumpets that he has prepared and calls his "bread." If peremptorily summoned from his repast, he will slowly and reluctantly obey, but, as a truly orthodox man, he cannot return afterwards to complete his meal. Sadly he flings the rest of his dinner to the expectant pariah dog, who has been watching him under the adjacent tree, and resignedly he mutters :

"Kya chákari o khála ji ka ghar"

(Service is not aunty's house).

The Hindu aunty—that is, the maternal aunt—always spoils her sister's children. (N.B.—Supporters of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill may note this fact.) Aunty's house is an earthly paradise, where, if nowhere else, sugar and *ghi* and fried-cakes and curds and flummery and chopped sugar-cane are to be had for the mere asking. In such affection is aunty held by her nephews and nieces that another Hindi proverb goes so far as to say :

"Ma mare mousie jie"

(Let mother leave, so aunty live).

Humbug of all sorts is a favourite topic of badinage. Show without reality is particularly offensive to the native mind.

"Dhol par dhol phoote,  
Roti ki kor na tootte"

(Drums, many a drum to beat !  
But not a blessed crumb to eat).

To collect a huge procession of his friends and with them to circumambulate his quarter, preceded by native music (falsely so called), and finally to feed his guests to repletion on the very plain but abundant farinaceous food that they love, is the pride and glory of the Hindu, the pleasant proof of his orthodoxy. If he cannot afford to feast the whole brotherhood, he would think shame were he not now and then to get a score or so of Brahmans to dine at his expense. In short, to dispense this curious hospitality and to provide liberally for the cost of the weddings of his children are the main objects in life of

the average Hindu. Weddings are ruinously expensive, and the evil is that public opinion demands that they shall be so.

"Kouri na paisa  
Yih biab hai kaisa !"

(Without cowries and pice,  
What wedding is nice ?)

This proverb would be used metaphorically whenever any utterly absurd conjunction of things occurs. Somewhat to a similar effect is the following :

"Khwàn barra, khwànpoch barra  
Kolke dekho—to ádhá barra !"

(The tray is big, the traycloth, too :  
Peep ! half a muffin comes to view !)

The trays, on which the *nuzzurs* (complimentary offerings) are brought, are usually covered with scarlet cloths ; and the offerings consist of a varied assortment of fruits, flowers, spices, sweets, and confectionery.

So, too, in contempt of empty display :

"Unchi dukán  
Phika pakwán "

(A pie-shop, high and wide !  
But mouldy stuff inside) ;

and—

"Nam barra  
Dorshan thora "

(A great name—  
Nothing more)

—both of which proverbs are in every Hindu's mouth. Another popular adage to the same effect is :

"Ghar na chhán na chaffar  
O bahar miasi Muzaffar !"

(With ne'er a shed nor thatch at home,  
As Lord Muzaffar here we roam).

The contrast between the actual poor surroundings and the infinite grandeur of imaginary ones always delights the Oriental mind, and is expressed in the following familiar phrase :

"Rabe jhouprosi mesi o khneab dekke  
Mahallosi ki"

(Dwells in a pigstye,  
Dreams of a palace).

And, to like effect :

"Dhor siryané kinggari so gaie kanggal  
Sapne mesi Rajah bhaie—jagat waki hawwál"

(The beggar for a pillow put his fiddle 'neath his head,  
Dreamt that a Rajah he became, woke, and the dream was fled).

There is no harsh reproof here—rather a half-amused pity that the poor fellow's bubble so soon burst. But for vulgar pretence no pity is shown. Thus :

"Khounrihai kuttia  
O makhmal ki jhool"

(A mangy little pup,  
In velvet coat dressed up).

Of all pretenders, the low upstart is the most unbearable.

"Barre !—to barre !  
Chhote !—Subhanullah !"

(A big man ! Well, he *is* big ;  
But a little one—good gracious ! [lit., "Gott in Himmel !"])

—i.e., tyranny from him is indeed intolerable.

The merciless rapacity of the lower officials is referred to in the following distich :

"Chhota musih  
Barra niwala"  
(Small mouth,  
Mighty swallow).

How widespread and insatiable that rapacity is only those know whose lives are led in India. Few native officials save the highest will refuse a bribe, and not a few will extort from their wretched victims every pice possible. The difficulty is that the custom of the country is with the offenders. They do not greatly offend the public conscience—at least, so long as they do not add cruelty to mere extortion. A native official of rank once told the writer that he could count on his fingers the natives of his

acquaintance who never took bribes. Questioned as to his own practice, he frankly replied : " Not now ! Formerly, when I was young, and my pay was very small and I had a horse to keep—yes, I used to take a rupee per village at festivals, as had always been the custom. It doubled my income and more. Now, of course, my pay is too good, and I see the error (and the danger) of such a course. Sahib, *all* take bribes." This man was one of the best officers in our service, a thoroughly capable man, generally esteemed by the people and much liked by all his European superiors. Was he to be believed ? Well, *cuique in sua arte credendum est* is generally reckoned sound sense.

The Hindu is pre-eminently conservative. He approves of obedience to ancient custom—admires the suitable, the proper. A new departure rarely takes his fancy.

" Báp na máre méndki  
Béta—tirandaz "

(The sire ne'er slew a frog, they say ;  
The son, a warrior brave and gay).

The incongruous is ever displeasing.

" Khák na dhool  
Aur bibi baithi phool ! "

(Bare house, nor inch of ground ;  
Within a flower-like bride is found.)

The contrast is between the utter beggary of the proprietor and his possession of so fair a flower for wife. Notice the chattel-like trade-mark which the proverb affixes to the bride.

The English proverb—one should cut one's coat according to the cloth—takes in Hindi the following form :

" Jetna chádár dekhe  
Wetna pair phailáwe "

(Measure first your sheet,  
Then stretch out your feet).

A native can sleep quite comfortably on the bare ground without a pillow ; but a sheet of some sort is indispensable to protect his skin from the mosquitoes and other insect



torments that else would murder repose. In some thin quilt or other he invariably rolls himself up mummywise—head, feet, and all—ere betaking himself to slumber. Now, if the sheet be short, he must obviously tuck up his legs; if the sheet be long enough, then he can stretch out.

Too many proverbs bear sad testimony to the terror that has sunk deep into the popular mind from the cruel oppression of tyranny during past ages. The lessons they impart are that it is vain to strive with the strong man, above all, with constituted authority; that one should bend to the blast; that humility befits the majority of men, especially the poor; that the battle is to the strong and that the strong man armed alone is safe; for the rest there remains submission.

“Jáke lathi—wáki bhains”

(Who can deal the heaviest blow,  
He shall have the buffalo).

“Zabbardast ka thenga-ri par”

(The strong man's thumb presses your head).

“Hákim háre

Musih mési máre”

(The lord, himself belaboured,  
Smites his servant's face).

“Hukm-i-hákim margi mufáját”

(The lord's law is as sudden death).

Similarly—

“Hakim máre

Rone na dé”

(Though blows the master ply,  
The servant dare not cry).

The why and the wherefore of the acts of the ruler must not be questioned. He is a law unto himself.

“Pasa parke—so dose

Rajah kare—so niose”

(As the dice fall, play you must;  
What the king does, that is just).

The poor man must not expect consideration.

“Latte ki joi sabki sarhaj”

(The poor man's wife is everybody's sister-in-law).

The sister-in-law receives but scanty deference, notwithstanding her kindness to her sister's children. So the proverb means that a poor man must not give himself airs nor expect his wife to be treated with much respect by anybody.

If you say to a native : " Surely such degradation must be due to your own pusillanimity ; you have yourself only to blame for the fact "—if fact it be—he will answer mournfully that " the heart knoweth his own bitterness."

" Jecore gorwa jáe na bewái  
Oo ká jáne píraí "

(Only he whose heel has split,  
Fully knows the pain of it).

Natives often travel barefoot, and are, in consequence, subject to a peculiarly obstinate and most painful splitting of the sole of the heel, often resulting in a deep ulcer.

As may well be imagined, the home life in such a society as that portrayed in the proverbial expressions given above is tinged with a somewhat gloomy colouring. Optimistic views find little favour. The teaching of Indian proverbial philosophy, so far as native domestic life is concerned, amounts to this : " Do not endeavour to effect by kindness what can better be secured by severity."

" Lakri ki dar, bandari náche "

('Tis fear of the stick  
Makes the monkey so quick).

" Bin bhou, pirit nahísi "

(No fear, no love).

" Khanah' murúwat kharáb "

(The house of kindness is the house of blindness).

Right or wrong, the weak must go to the wall. It is on the weak that men vent the anger they feel against the strong, but dare not show.

" Tragi par zor na chale  
Gadhe ká kán uméthe "

(The big horse made him quail,  
So he twisted the donkey's tail).

A horse's tail (for obvious reasons) is never twisted ; but a donkey is less difficult to handle. The natives, it may be remarked by the way, are often cruel to animals. Many a poor bullock's tail is actually twisted until it is broken by the brutal driver.

As exhibiting the difficulty of choosing the right course of action in doubtful circumstances, a typical dilemma is set forth in the following lines, the wide popularity of which must excuse their insertion here :

"Bolusi—to má mári jáe  
Nalusi to—báp kutta khæ"

(If I tell, mother will be beaten ;  
If I don't, dog's flesh will be eaten).

The reference is to a popular story about a woman who was ordered by her husband to provide him a meal of meat, and who, being unable to procure any other flesh, killed a puppy and prepared a dish for her lord. Meantime, her cookery had been watched by her juvenile son, whose dilemma the proverb sets forth.

"Hoolie and fairlie," says the Scotch proverb—that is, proportion effort to requirement. The Indian puts it thus :

"Yih to bail cholbe na kare  
Ya chale to mendh udháre"

(This bullock does not move at all,  
Or, if it moves, knocks down a wall).

The same idea, that effort should be in proportion to the work to be done, is expressed in the short distich :

"Sāmp mare  
Latthi na tootte"

(To scotch a snake  
Don't break a stake).

A stroke of a light cane will break a snake's back. No need, therefore, to deliver such a blow as to break your quarterstaff.

We say : "If you want a thing done well, do it yourself." The corresponding Hindi proverb is :

"Jahtak—Pootta ! Pootta !

Tabtak—apán bootta "

(Instead of crying, "Help me, son !"

Set to yourself—the job is done).

And our common proverb, "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," appears in Persian dress as follows :

"Sag-i-huzúr

Bih az barádari dúr "

(Better a dog at hand

Than brother in far-off land).

The money-lender or banker has not many friends. He is often hard in his dealings, and consequently does not get much sympathy even from his own immediate family.

"Sosi mare—ghar larka bhou

Jāko lēkho barnen you "

(The banker died—his son was born ;

So loss and gain were squared that morn)

—*i.e.*, everything is matter of arithmetic. Sentiment or affection is out of place in a money-lender's family. If the banker's death is placed on the debit side of the account, the son's birth will balance it on the creditor side.

The controversy about methods of education—classical *versus* commercial—has its faint echo even in the Far East.

"Parrhiye poṭṭā soi

Jāmen hauria bhud-bhud hoi "

(My son, to get such knowledge toil,

As helps to keep the pot a-boil).

Spiteful people are plentiful. Luckily, they are often as impotent as they are malevolent. So the Hindi :

"Bakri ki lát ghooṣit ták "

(A goat can kick only as high as the knee)

—*i.e.*, ineffectually.

In misery men seek companionship.

"Kori mari saughati cháhe."

(A leper grim on death is bent ;

He seeks out one of like intent).

This proverb refers to the custom which used to prevail in Hindustan whereby a leper, tired of his miserable life, would commit suicide by being buried alive. This self-immolation the old Hindu religious books declared to be highly meritorious, earning immense benefits to the victim and perpetual exemption from leprosy for his family. When such an act was about to be performed, the whole village would assist in the ceremony with pleasure and with demonstrations of great respect to the wretched chief actor in the scene. The latter, after his intention had been duly proclaimed, would walk with a flower-garland round his neck, attended by all his fellow-villagers, to a ready-dug grave, in which he sat down. The earth would then be slowly filled in until it reached the head, when the work would be rapidly finished, the nearest relative first stamping upon the earth. It once fell to the writer's duty to stop such an intended "sainād," as it is called. The leper, when called on to answer, boldly declared that God had filled his mind with the idea, and that he would certainly commit suicide, if not in that way then in some other. Much against its will, the court had no alternative but to send the poor wretch to gaol.

Another lesson taught in the proverbial philosophy of India is that of the old Greek fable of "The Dog and the Shadow." Thus:

"Adhe chor ekko dhāwe  
Aisa dube patta na lage"

(Ruin will overwhelm his soul  
Who leaves the half to grasp the whole).

The next proverb contains a sneer at pilgrims and pilgrimages, which one would sooner have expected to hear in the neighbourhood of Exeter Hall than in the pilgrimage-loving East:

"Satthar chuhe khake  
Billi Haj ko chale"  
(Threescore rats and ten  
Puss devoured, and then—  
Set out for Holy Mecca).

*À propos* of an unsympathetic listener, we have the following very picturesque adage :

" Bhains ki samne kinggari bajai  
Bhains—rounchail "

(Fiddler scrapes,  
Buffalo gapes).

The village cows are coming home. Among them stands one of those hideous creatures—the Indian buffalo—with its hairless black skin and goggle eyes. Meanwhile up comes a fiddler, fiddling for dear life, with his dirty white garments fluttering in the wind. The lumpish animal gazes at him till its eyes start, then slowly raises its head and utters its fearful bellow! Often will the disappointed suitor of some great man solace his wounded feelings by quoting this proverb, likening to the ungainly buffalo the unresponsive dignitary whom he has failed to cajole and charm.

It has been said by some that the Hindu character is not strongly marked by a sense of gratitude, and this is, perhaps, true in abstract matters. To him, however, who supplies to them the means of subsistence, the natives seem to entertain feelings of something bordering upon affection.

" Jiska khasye  
Us ka gáíye "

(His praise repeat  
Whose bread you eat).

What we call "cupboard love" is very well appreciated in the East.

" Jiska hath doi  
Usika sab koi "

(Who deals the food  
Is always good).

The Indian is fully alive to the danger of an unbridled tongue. Words are to him far from idle things :

" Bátaisi háthi páige  
Bátaisi háthi páosi "

(By words we get—an elephant ;  
By words we get—his kick).



The allusion here is to the horrible mode of execution sometimes practised by native rulers, when a trained elephant takes up the criminal, flings him on the ground, and tramples him to death. But mere talk is empty breath.

“Jo garji—so barsi ka?  
Jo poonwaisi—so kare ka?”  
(Much thunder, little rain;  
Much talk, little done.)

The author of the next adage plainly had no belief in either ghosts or words of exorcism :

“Lát ká bhut bát nahisi mántá ”  
(Kicks avail most  
To lay a ghost).

Any sketch, however slight, of Hindu proverbial philosophy that entirely omitted reference to the prevalent Oriental estimate of women would be very defective. That estimate is highly unfavourable; whether justly so or not, is hard to say. Most Europeans believe it to be most unjust; but certainly their experience of any, save the women of the lower orders, is very limited. It is possible enough that the barbarous and life-long incarceration to which the upper classes (Hindu and Muhammadan alike) subject their women has really deteriorated female character; for it is as true in the East as in the West that “Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do.” But if this be so, who is to blame for the fact? The male Oriental, like Adam, has not the faintest shadow of scruple in laying the whole burden on the woman.

“Zan, zámin, zar  
Yih tino fasád ka ghar ”  
(In woman, land or gold,  
The cause of every ill is told).

So says the Persian proverb. The Hindi is still more brutal and ruthless :

“Káli bhalk na sêť  
Máro donosi eki khêť ”  
(Bad are women, black and white;  
In one field kill both outright).

According to another popular sentence, they are murderous, deceitful, and incomprehensible.

"Tina charitz na jane koi  
Khapam ka galla katke satti howe"  
(A treacherous wife will take thy life,  
And then desire to share thy pyre).

A bitter sneer at the moral frailty, coupled with the religious tendency of women and also at the hypocrisy of the priests, is contained in the following quatrain, which is very popular :

"Patthal pujan maisi cholisi  
O pi apne ki laj  
Patthal puja pi mile  
Ek pautti—do kaj"

(A wife *loquitur*) :

(To cure my husband I set out,  
And visited a shrine ;  
Both cure and husband there I found,  
And double joy was mine).

The Hindu wife has gone to pray *Mahaded* for her husband's recovery from sickness, and, while at her devotions, meets a Brahman, who supplants the absent spouse.

If smoke presupposes fire, some gleams of truth must be behind these dark pictures. But if there be faults, surely their existence may be largely explained by the cramped, self-centred lives which our Hindu and Muhammadan fellow-citizens compel their women to lead. They, in fact, deal out to women the same harsh meed that is awarded to the very worst malefactors—viz., life-long incarceration. May we not justly quote to Indian detractors of women a very homely Hindu proverb—

"Cholisi mesi cludh dohe  
Aur nasib ko dosh de"  
(You milk into a sieve, and yet  
Are vexed so little milk to get) ?

Our Indian brethren who clamour for admission to the chief seats in the offices of State and demand what they consider their rights, may well be asked to reflect whether

the attitude they assume towards a large portion of the population does not bar their approach to high positions of trust under a civilized Government. It is passing strange that men who are so keenly alive to what they esteem as their own due, have no regard whatever for the duty they themselves owe to their own wives and daughters. That the poor victims do not desire freedom is no answer and no excuse, for it only proves that women have not only been defrauded of their commonest rights by the men of Hindustan, but have been furthermore so degraded as not to know their degradation. Not till the Oriental has so far stepped out of his barbarism as to recognise woman as the free and equal companion of man will the average European accept him as on the same level of civilization, and accord to him the equality he seeks?

Even the faint light shed by such few specimens of proverbial wisdom as we have collected in the foregoing pages will have revealed to the reader something of Indian family and social life, with its passions and prejudices, its hopes and its fears.

National life, indeed, exists not; it is not so much dead as uncreate. A French writer, M. Gabriel Charmes, very truly and profoundly says: "En Orient il n'y a jamais eu réellement de nation; la famille, la tribu, la religion constituent les seuls liens sociaux et politiques."\* There never yet was a Hindu Empire. Kingdoms and Principalities and States (more or less ephemeral) there have been, but no entity corresponding to the "India for the Indians" of blind British philosophy has ever existed.

Are the natives of India contented under our rule? So far as the administration of justice is concerned, there can be little doubt that they are absolutely satisfied with the fairness and impartiality with which the laws are applied and enforced. While the Muhammadan, in nine cases out of ten, has no confidence in the impartiality of a Hindu judge—and a Hindu of a Muhammadan—both believe

\* *Revue des deux Mondes*, August, 1883.

implicitly in our honour and good faith. Viewing the question from the political side, we may safely say that the attitude of the great mass of the population is one of indifference. Some agitation and clamour are raised now and again, it is true, by certain native cliques in Bengal. It must be remembered, however, that very small creatures have often very loud voices. The Bengali coteries in question are, compared to the mass of the people of India, infinitesimally small, and wholly unrepresentative. With all its many excellencies the gentle and timid Bengali race is the very last that would rise to supreme power were the British driven into the sea "bag and baggage."

What, then, does the ordinary Indian really want? If my readers could be behind the purdah (curtain) when the Hindu thus interrogated gave his answer, they would hear some such words as these (the speaker's hands being joined palm to palm, and touching the down-bent forehead): "Protector of the poor! you are my father and my mother! Whatever you say is right. Still, my lord, the income tikkus (tax) is very bad. Your Honour knows, also, that we pay 66 per cent. for our land, and cesses and license and octroi. If your Honour would save us from being bullied by your underlings, especially by the police, you would be an Avátar of Vishnu; and, my lord, the British Raj is 1,400 kos long and very glorious, but we don't require any female schools, because the less women are taught the less evil they will do; and if your Honour would order all robbers' hands to be chopped off, it would be much better than feeding the villains up in gaol; and if the Sirdar Bahadur would kindly oblige by ordering a little money to be spent on the village roads which we principally use, it would be very kind. Finally, the British have made the railroad and the telegraph, and they are gods, and you are my father and my mother. Sab ko salaam (peace be to all)."

## A PLEA FOR COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN CEYLON.

BY A. G. WISE.

THE Commission on Elementary Education in Ceylon, appointed in January, 1905, has presented its Report, which contains recommendations of a novel and important character. This Commission was appointed to inquire into and report on the Education Question, with a view to propose practical steps to give effect to the suggestions contained in the Report of the Committee appointed in 1901, and was also directed to report on the education of Tamil coolies employed on estates, and other matters connected with education in general. After an exhaustive description of the existing system of elementary education in Ceylon, the Commissioners discuss the question whether the time is ripe for the introduction of a general system of compulsory education for boys. They sum up strongly in favour of compulsory education for boys, pointing out that in most parts of the Colony boys who are not sent to school are not set to any regular work, that they are not acquiring habits of industry, but are for the most part of their time running wild, or in many cases grow up without the most rudimentary sense of self-control. They rightly contend that a population of this kind is especially dangerous in a country like Ceylon, in which wealth is rapidly on the increase, even among the labouring classes; while, as in India, "the cultivator has been brought into contact with the commercial world, and has been involved in transactions in which the illiterate man is at a great disadvantage." It is pointed out that the Dutch had an extensive and successful system of vernacular schools throughout the conquered districts of the island, at which attendance was enforced by fines, and the Commissioners strongly recommend compulsory education for boys (and in certain districts for

girls), with a conscience clause. At this proposal the various religious bodies are already up in arms, and are offering such strenuous opposition that there would seem to be grave danger lest the whole scheme may fall to the ground. As all the existing agencies at work since the colony became a British possession have succeeded in providing education for only 204,889 children out of 534,970 children, it is time that the Government took this matter seriously in hand. The new proposals will be the means of giving instruction to over 330,000 children, who are now running wild and helping to swell the criminal classes. Crime is on the increase in Ceylon, and the direct connection of illiteracy with criminality is proved by valuable statistics collected by Mr. S. M. Burrows, a former Director of Public Instruction. If the religious missions insist on closing their schools, the Government should face the problem boldly, and take over the whole educational system, charging the cost to the general revenue. Of course, no attempts at proselytization should be countenanced. The native priests, Buddhists, Mohammedans, and Sivites naturally favour the proposed conscience clause.

Turning now to the vexed question of estate schools on plantations, I would first of all express my regret that a passage in Mr. Burrows' report has been reprinted without comment. He voices the opinions of some planters, that if the children were made to attend school it would "deal a serious blow at the labour-supply, and would *certainly* reintroduce infanticide." Referring to this objection, Sir Lepel Griffin says he has "never heard education put in so terrible a form, that a mother is prepared to kill her child rather than allow it to go to school. This seems to add to education a new and additional terror." The "infanticide argument" appears to Sir Lepel an argument of "an astonishing character," and "an absurd and exaggerated view." Mr. H. Mitchell Taylor writes: "I feel sure that the opposition on the part of the planters in Ceylon and



India will vanish in the face of public opinion. As to the spectre of possible infanticide as a result of a *mild* form of compulsory attendance at school, surely such conjuring cannot be serious. I never heard of such a thing, and, after thirty years' intimate association with coolies in the Western Colonies, I could not conceive of any such possibility. Of course, it goes without saying that the persons responsible for enforcement of regulations must be endowed with some amount of tact. In the Western Colonies the planters are legally required to provide schooling for the children of indentured emigrants only, but it has been found from experience that this provision has been very largely taken advantage of *voluntarily* by the unindentured immigrants, who, after a short residence in the Colonies, very soon recognise the benefits of education for their own offspring, and, curious to relate, those who have most prominently come to the front are the children of the Madrassis."

The Commissioners appear to take a similar view of the benefits likely to arise. They recommend that the planters shall furnish quarterly returns, showing how many children attend school, with inspection of all "line" and other schools, and, finally, that the ordinance which provides for compulsory education in other parts of the island shall contain provision that the estate superintendent should, before a date specified by the Governor, satisfy the Director that he has made adequate provision for the instruction of the children. The same ordinance should contain a provision empowering the Government to establish a school on any estate which, after clear warning, neglects to make proper provision for the schooling of the children, and to levy a rate on the estate to defray the cost of construction and maintenance of such school.

It now only remains to hope that the Government of Ceylon will delay no longer in dealing with this important question of education, which Sir Henry Blake himself has admitted to be one of four questions requiring special and

immediate attention. For my own part, I consider that a system of free compulsory *vernacular* education for all Sinhalese and Tamil boys should be established throughout this flourishing colony, and it is to be trusted that the authorities will carry out the recommendations of the Commissioners as speedily as possible.

## EAST AFRICAN PROTECTORATE.\*

It is about ten years since the Foreign Office assumed practical control of the administration of the territory now known as the East African Protectorate. During that time great progress has been made. The country was in every way undeveloped. It was inhabited by tribes whose everyday occupation had been for generations one of raiding and killing one another, and in slaying and selling women and youths, who for some time resented any attempt on the part of Britain to bring peace and order into the country. The language and customs were strange, and required mastering. There were no roads, and our only base was hundreds of miles from the principal stations. Our staff to carry out the work was small, but from the belief in the future civilization of the country the work of the staff was continuous and energetic. The British East African Company having surrendered its charter, the Foreign Office did not commence its control until October, 1895. This Company had effected a certain amount of local influence at certain stations, Ndü, Machakos, and Fort Smith. The Government, in taking over the territory, took over the existing officers, which was the means of maintaining the continuity of the policy which had been carried on in the country to that date. The territory was then divided into a number of districts, with a headquarter station in each district, and was under an officer styled the District Superintendent, each of whom was directly responsible to the chief administrator at Mombasa. On the Foreign Office assuming control, all the up-country districts then included in the East Africa Protectorate were placed within the limits of one province named Ukamba, and the district officers were responsible to His Majesty's Sub-Commissioner, who in turn was responsible to the Com-

\* Collated from the recent Parliamentary reports relating to administration. "Africa," No. 6, October, 1905.

missioner-in-Chief. At that time trade goods consisted principally of cloth, beads, and wire, the only medium of exchange with the natives. Stern justice and speedy retribution were of necessity the ruling features of any effective policy; thus our administration rose and progressed, and when the Company's flag went down, the Protectorate found a sort of basis upon which to work.

In 1895 there was very little communication between the different tribes except raids and counter-raids; hence our first main efforts were to keep the various districts quiet and bring them to a state of order. There was a state of slavery which we had to meet, and for this purpose, in July, 1895, police posts were established. These posts were attacked in considerable force by the natives, and destroyed the greater part of the garrison. We had then to make a punitive expedition, which succeeded in punishing the offenders. About May, 1896, Soudanese troops under Colonel Harrison arrived from the coast, and proceeded at once to the unsettled areas. No punitive measures were, however, undertaken, as all the elders came in, submitted, and paid a fine, and the women who had escaped from their captors to our camp were handed over to their own people. After a time the troops withdrew, and the vacated temporary buildings were almost at once let to the Africa Inland Mission, and the locality has since ceased to cause any trouble. As the result of our endeavours to prevent and stop raiding, three other military and police expeditions were necessary in the Ulu district, the last of which was in 1897; since then the natives have caused, generally, no further trouble, and are now assisting in making roads. European settlers began, in 1903, to come into the country in appreciable numbers.

The Ukamba province, as originally constituted, contained, as estimated, thirty-eight square miles. This area included Teita and Taveta, Kikumbului, Ulu, Kitui, Mumoni, Kikuyu and Kenya, and Southern Masailand. In 1902 Teita and Taveta were placed under the Seyidie

(Mombasa) province, while the Kikuyu country north of the Chania River—and including Mount Kenya—was constituted a new province called "Kenya." The area of the province as it is now is about 21,500 square miles. The boundaries in relation to that of the German boundary is as follows: On the south the Tsavo—from its source—and Sabaki Rivers to a point on the latter near Loga Hill; thence the boundary proceeds on the east to Dokhat, keeping at an equal distance from the Tana, which river it joins east of the Mumoni range; taking in Mumoni, it strikes the Thika, and follows that river to the point where the Chania River enters it. The Chania to its source forms the northern boundary; the western boundary is a line drawn from the source of the Chania along the Mianzini to Kijabi, and then in a south-westerly line to the Gwazo Nyiro River, thence along the course of that river to the Anglo-German boundary. The population of this province, as estimated, is 214,000, composed of the following tribes: Wakamba, Wakikuyu, and Masai. In addition, the resident populations, including officials, number about 5,700. The province forms one of the administrative divisions of the Protectorate, and is divided for administrative purposes into districts, whose officers are responsible for law and order. They collect the revenue, and are the general advisers to the natives in abnormal matters.

For generations in the past the different tribes resident in the province were hostile to one another. The Wakamba and Wakikuyu, who are a part of the Bantu race, are agricultural tribes; while the Masai, who are of Hamitic descent, are purely pastoral. Amongst the Bantu tribes of the province there is no record of a paramount chief; they have no form of government other than that of a patriarchal one. Amongst the Masai, however, there exists, and has always existed, a system of chieftainship. The chief in the old days, when the Masai were all-powerful, held practically absolute power. The Masai were, during their day, the lords of the interior of East Africa. All

native tribes lived in fear of them, and contributed, through the medium of forced raids, a regular tribute to this once powerful tribe. For years raids and counter-raids kept the country in a state of unrest. By our persistent efforts from 1895 these raids in 1900 ceased. Organized tribal raids are now unknown.

The ordinary law of the province is that applied to the whole of the Protectorate, which consists in that laid down in the Indian Criminal and Civil Codes, supplemented by a number of ordinances under the Orders in Council. The natives are becoming to realize the advantages of bringing their cases before these courts for settlement, and they appreciate a civilized mode of dealing with their claims. In this circumstance alone we have a very striking illustration of the advance made by the natives. From a state of raiding and killing for any little personal difference that may have existed formerly between people, we have now an application for a summons and an appearance in court. The progress in this connection is not confined to localities just round stations: it extends amongst tens of thousands of the people. In 1890 slavery was declared illegal, and included dealing with slaves in any form. The several regulations and ordinances from 1897 to 1903 have all tended to simplify the administration of justice, and to make it more easily understood amongst the natives. All the Provincial Courts are subordinate to the High Court of East Africa. The police of the Protectorate is divided into three classes: (1) The District; (2) The Nairobi Township; and (3) Watchmen and Guards.

The introduction of the Uganda Railway has had a most wonderful and civilizing effect on the country through which it passes, and to it the province owes a great deal of its present progressive condition. The number of passengers during the year 1903 was: First class, 468; second class, 660; third class, 16,325; the total being 17,453. In the year 1904: First class, 844; second class, 1,382; and third class, 24,303; making in all 26,529. The produce



carried by the railway during those years has much increased; for instance, beans, more than 222 tons, while in 1904 it was increased to more than 535 tons; potatoes, in 1903, 937 tons; in 1904, 1,162 tons. There was no timber carried in 1903, but in 1904 it amounted to more than 479 tons. It is satisfactory to find that the railway is generally paying its own way. The construction of it has been not only justified from a financial point of view, but also a blessing to the country by opening it up to civilization, and proving to the Empire at large that East Africa is a land of fruitful promise. A comparison of travelling by the old caravan method and that of the railway from Bombasa is: one hour by railway, one day by caravan. By the old system there were no proper roads, but by degrees great improvement has been made in this respect. Post and telegraphs are being rapidly erected. There is also much progress in the surveying of land. In 1892 shops or business houses of any description were unknown, but now all this has changed. Hotels are being erected and banks established. The climate of the highlands is good, the soil is fertile, but the question has yet to be settled, "What will the soil produce that will pay a white man to cultivate it?" Coffee and fibres will grow, but these require time and money to produce. The question of native labour and that of the settlers require organization, and the Chief Commissioner for this purpose is forming "a Labour Commission." The revenue in 1897-1898 was Rs. 13,637, while in 1904-1905 it rose to Rs. 2,03,310. The expenditure for the latter year is estimated at Rs. 1,25,704. The natives of the province are pagans, but the introduction of missionary and educational efforts is being gradually established by various societies and churches.

## QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

### GENERAL WORKS.

THE first portion of which we shall speak is devoted to the Proceedings of the Second International Congress of the History of Religions, which took place at Bâle from August 30 to September 2, 1904.\* We have given before an account of this Congress,† and will therefore treat the Proceedings now published very briefly. This interesting volume is divided into three parts: (1) A daily report of the Congress and of its arrangements with respect to committees and members; (2) papers read at the general sittings; (3) proceedings of the sections. Several works presented to the Congress are printed *in extenso*, but only a very few. The majority are given in summaries, and are often very short—half or a third of a page—the volume itself only containing 382 pages. This system of publishing the Proceedings is much to be deplored, and should be absolutely condemned. Who is judge of the works which ought to be published *in extenso*? Some very important papers are given abridged, which detracts much from their value, hence the publication of the Proceedings loses much of its usefulness, especially to those members of the Congress who could not be present. The sad experience, then, as regards the summarized Proceedings of the Congress of Orientalists in Hamburg, should have been a lesson to the Bâle committee. It would have been far better to have published nothing than to have prepared a volume of summaries both dry and inadequate. This

\* "Verhandlungen des II. internationalen Kongresses für allgemeine Religionsgeschichte in Basel." Basel: Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1905.

† *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1904 ("Proceedings of the Second International Congress of the History of Religions," a short daily report).

was recognised at the last Congress of Orientalists at Algiers, which decided to publish all its proceedings in full. At the Algiers Congress, of which we gave an abridged account in these pages,\* the Professors of the École Supérieure des Lettres d'Alger et des Médersas d'Algérie presented a very interesting collection of essays and texts.† As Mr. R. Basset says in the preface to this volume, "with their apparent diversity, the essays forming this volume have a common utility—viz., the scientific exploration of Northern Africa." This work deserves a short analysis. It contains :

1. "Bibliographical Researches on the Origin of the Salouat-al-Anfas of Muhammad bin Jafar, bin Idris al-Kettani"; this is a modern work, valuable on account of its acquaintance with the Maghreb, and is lithographed at Fez. This first work is by Mr. R. Basset.

2. "Certain Rites for obtaining Rain at the Time of Drought amongst the Musulmans of the Maghreb," by A. Bel. The author points out that the intercessions for obtaining rain in the Maghreb belong to the popular harvest festivals, which have preserved the ancient rites which existed anterior to Islam. It is known how reluctantly the Berbers adopted the religion of Muhammad.

3. "On the Transmission of the Traditions of Bokhari to the Inhabitants of Algiers," by Muhammad bin Sheneb.

4. "The Capitals of Barbary," by A. Bernard.

5. "The Qānun of Adni," by Sayyid Boulifa. Adni is a conglomeration of five Kabyle villages. This Qānun, which forms the law and local customs, was communicated to the author of the article by "the village elders."

6. "The Son and Daughter of the King: A Story in the Berber dialect of Kef" (Beni-Snous), text and translation, by E. Doutté.

\* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1905 ("The Congress of Orientalists at Algiers").

† "Recueil de mémoires et de textes du XIV. Congrès des Orientalistes." Alger: P. Fontana, 1905.

7. "The Khotba (burlesque of the Feast of Tolbas-students) in Marocco," a very curious article, by E. Doutté.

8. "An Arabic-Malgash Text in the Dialect of South-Eastern Madagascar," text and translation by G. Ferrand.

9. "The Character of Micipsa, King of Numidia," in Sallust, by A. Fournier.

10. "A Record of Religion and Philosophy"; treatise by Ibn Rashid (Averroes), translated by L. Gauthier.

11. "Saharan Oases," by E. F. Gauthier.

12. "Extent of the Carthaginian Rule in Africa," by S. Gsell. An essay of the greatest interest.

13. Apparently Semitic or Indigenous Names in the Egyptian Pantheon," by E. Lefébure.

14. "Some Observations on the Practical Arabic-French Dictionary of Beausnier," by W. Marçais; an important lexicographic study.

15. "L'Aqida of the Abadhites," by A. de C. Motylinski. The author of this very interesting work gives the text and translation of the 'Aqida, or symbol of faith, summarizing the doctrine followed in Mzâb and Jerba. Abadhite heresy has, in reality, survived to this day in the midst of the Musulman orthodoxy of North Africa; in Mzâb, and in the Island of Jerba and mountains of Nefusa, three Berber groups.

16. "The African Commission" (July 7-December 12, 1833), by G. Yver.

This rapid survey will show the richness of the large volume (612 pages) published by the Algerian professors.

The third collection of Oriental texts and studies, of which we will now say something, is the magnificent volume published in honour of D. Francisco Codera, on the occasion of the jubilee of his professorship. We have already drawn attention to the advance proofs of this work in our Report of April, 1905: *Several* reprints of "The Memoirs of R. Basset and M. Asin," of which we have pointed out the merits. One can say that all the works of this vast collection (xxxviii and 656 pages, 8vo.) deserve to be read. We

cannot here give even a simple analysis, the contents being so numerous. But it is well and useful to enumerate the richness of the volume, not according to its alphabetical index, but leaf by leaf.

The collection, which contains as a frontispiece a fine portrait of Codera, begins with an introduction, by Edward Saavedra, on the life, career, and the eminent merits of Codera, and the author of this notice applies rightly to the learned professor and distinguished citizen the maxim of Algazel: "He who knows, and works well and instructs, merits the title of great." A catalogue of the publications of Codera follows.

The essays which compose the collection are as follows: (1) "Origin of the Nizami College of Baghdad," by J. Ribera; (2) "Who was King Esmar of the Battle of Ourique?" by D. Lopes; (3) "Surrender of the Chateau de Chivert to the Templars," by M. Ferrandis; (4) "The Account of Almicdad and Almayesa," by M. de Pano; (5) "The Parallel between the Defective Arabic Verbs and their Hebrew, Chaldean, Syrian, and Ethiopian Correspondents," by M. Viscasillas y Urriza; (6) "On Al Kitâb al Bayân of the Jurist Ibn Rashid," by Nallino; (7) "Christians and Moors, Arragon and Navarre Documents," by E. Ibarra; (8) "Some Observations on Greek Fire," by De Goeje; (9) "African Numismatics (the Fatimites at Fez)," by A. Prieto y Vives; (10) "The Malekiten Tabaqat," by E. Fagnan; (11) "Otobesa=Abixa=Oropesa y Anixa=El Puig of Cebolla=Onusa (?)," by C. F. Seybold; (12) "Protest by the Inhabitants of Kano against the Attacks of Sultan Muhammad-Bello, King of Sokoto," by O. Houdas; (13) "Christian Soldiers in the Service of the Sultans of the Maghreb," by J. Alemany; (14) "Arabic Documents of the Archives of 'Ntra. Sra. del Pilar' of Saragossa," by R. Garcia de Linares; (15) "The Letter of Franchises granted by the Comte de Barcelone to the Jews of Tortosa," by J. Miret y Sans; (16) "Relations of the Viscounts of Barcelona with the Arabs," by F. Carreras y Candi; (17) "Cordovan

Musulmans in Alexandria and Crete," by M. Gaspar; (18) "Opinion of Avicenna on Astrology and on the Relation of Human Responsibility with Destiny," by A. F. Mehren; (19) "The Benimajlad of Cordova, a Family of Lawyers," by R. de Ureña y Smenjaud; (20) "Christian Art among the Moors of Grenada," by M. Gomez-Moreno; (21) "The Theological Averroism of St. Thomas d'Aquin," by M. Asin; (22) "Origin of the Cities of Garnata É Illiberri and of the Alhambra," by L. Eguilaz Yanguas; (23) "The Syriac MS., No. 196, in the Vatican," by I. Guidi; (24) "Note on some Musulmans of Madrid," by L. Gonzalvo; (25) "A Note on the Historic Doctrine of Abenjaldun (Ibn Khaldun)," by R. Altamira; (26) "Ibn Al-'Assāl's Arabic Version of the Gospels," by Duncan B. Macdonald; (27) "On Aluacaxi and the Arabic Elegy of Valence," by R. Menendez Pidal; (28) "Moshehid bin Yusuf and Ali bin Moshehid," by R. Chabás; (29) "The Arabic Root *ح ك م* and its Derivatives," by L. Gauthier; (30) "Relations of Egypt with Spain during the Musulman Occupations," by Ahmad Zaki; (31) "Doncella Teodor" (a story of "The 1,001 Nights," a book by Cordel and a comedy of Lope de Vega), by M. Menendez y Pelayo; (32) "Indication of their Value on the Arabo-Spanish Coins," by A. Vives; (33) "Mezquinos y Exaricos" (for the story of slavery in Navarre and Arragon), by E. de Hinojosa; (34) "Questions of Prosody," by E. Saavedra; (35) "The MSS. 'Aljamiados' from my Collection," by P. Gil y Gil; (36) "Contribution to the Criticism of Conde," by L. Barrau-Dihigo; (37) "Our Criticism on the Arabic MSS. of the National Library of Madrid," by H. Derenbourg; (38) "Extract from the Description of Spain," taken from the work of the anonymous geographer of Almeria, by R. Basset.

Since our last Report, "Three Fascicules of the Talmud of Babylon," published by Lazarus Goldschmidt, have appeared. They include the treatises, "Baba Qamma" (Part II.) and "Baba Meçiâ" (Parts I. and II.).\*

\* Berlin: Calvary und Co., 1905.



Volume V. of the Polyglot Bible, published by the Abbé Vigouroux, has appeared.\* It includes: The Ecclesiasticus, or *Σοφία Σειραχ* (Greek, Hebrew, Latin, French), Esau, Jeremiah, the Lamentations, and Baruch. Interesting illustrations taken of the monuments accompany the text.

OLD-TESTAMENT HISTORY OF ISRAEL, SAMARIA, AND  
ASSYRIA.

Amongst the commentaries which have appeared on the Old Testament, we have to point out that of Strack on Genesis.† In the preface the author declares to have revised with much care his first edition (1896), without omitting the different discoveries, especially in the domain of Assyriology. The following interesting statement characterizes the point of view of his work: "I am satisfied that many of the results deduced from the information of the analysis by *critics* are false. They assert that, in many biblical passages, there are contradictions, whilst there are none. On the contrary, biblical accounts gain, in an unanticipated spirit, credibility, because they declare that two or three narrators of the same event in the Bible, in relating it, essentially agree." The translation, printed in different characters, according to the several sources of which Genesis is composed, has been made with much care. As to the sources of the Pentateuch, the author distinguishes, like Dillmann, P (*Priesterschrift*, the sacerdotal writing), H (*Heiligkeitgesetz*, the Sacred Law), J (Jahvist), E (Elohism), and D (Deuteronomy). The commentary, of 178 pages, with translation and notes, is moderate and clear. We must particularly draw attention, as being extremely interesting, to the notes on Bibel and Babel; the first ten kings (Urkönige) of Babylonia; Ur (Kasdim), which the author places north of Kharran; the kings of chap-

\* Paris: Roger et Chernoviz, 1904.

† "Die Genesis" (2<sup>te</sup> neu durchgearbeitete Auflage). Munich: C. H. Beck, 1905.

ter xiv. ; the creditableness of the history of the Patriarchs ; the Song of Jacob (chapter xlix.), etc.

The Rabbi L. G. Lévy has published, in order to acquire the degree of Doctor of Letters at the Sorbonne, a work of high interest on the family in the Israelitic ancient times.\* The author examines the family, which forms the pivot and axle of Israelitic life, from its origin up to the Exile. The book is divided into five parts : I. Family and Religion (totemism, worship of the dead, the ancient religion of the Hebrews) ; II. The Family in General (primitive family, slave and *ghêr*, life of a clan family) ; III. The Solidarity of the Family (vendetta and *gheoullah*, genealogy of name, property) ; IV. Marriage and Conjugal Society (matrimony, matrimonial rights, etc.) ; V. Relations of Members of the Family between Themselves (paternal authority, funeral rites, successions, etc.). The contents of the Rabbi's book are much too copious for us to analyze here—in fact, they go beyond the family circle. Its erudition is great and sound, its general views judicious and expansive, and the method is essentially scientific—that is to say, the book deserves to be read and recommended. It will certainly contribute to make known to the general public the ancient Israelitic family in its real light.

I myself have published a second edition of my "*Grammaire minima de l'Hébreu et de l'Araméen bibliques.*"†

In the *Revue des Études Juives* (Paris, 1905), F. Macler has published an interesting work on a new manuscript of a Samaritan chronicle, "*El Tôlideh*," which was edited in 1869 by Neubauer, after a manuscript of the year 1212 of the Hejira. This manuscript, compared by Macler, was written strictly after the accession of Abd-ul-Hamid. This work, like other Samaritan histories, established a Hebrew computation for fixing dates, which go back to Adam.

In the *Revue Sémitique* of July last (Paris) was inserted, under the title of "*Sumerological Correspondence*," a series of letters which Mr. R. Brunnow and J. Halevy wrote to

\* Paris : F. Alcan, 1905.

† Paris : E. Guilmoto, 1905.

one another on the Sumerian question. We recommend their perusal, as they will make clear the much-disputed question of the Sumerian language.

#### ISLAM-ARABIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

A most interesting book on Islam has been published. It is not the work of an Arabist or of a specialist; but its interest arises from the object that the author, Madame Hyacinthe Loyson, pursues. Her book is entitled "To Jerusalem through the Lands of Islam, among Jews, Christians, and Moslems."\* It is an account of some journeys undertaken by Mr. and Mrs. H. Lyson in 1894-1896 across Algeria, Tunis, Egypt, and Palestine, but it is above all a collection of religious impressions regarding Islam, which the author rehabilitates, and which she defends. Islam is so little understood, and so often decried, by the general European public, it is as well that, from time to time, a sympathetic voice is raised in its favour. Mr. and Mrs. Loyson dream of the approachment of the Christian West and the Musulman East—an ideal the realization of which is difficult, but in pursuit of which we must endeavour to strive, as it is a humanizing power.

V. Chauvin has devoted, in the *Revue des Bibliothèques et Archives de Belgique* (vol. ii.; part 4, Brussels, 1905), an article of very great interest on the translation of "The 1,001 Nights," by Mardrus. In this article he shows the very numerous additions made in the Arabic text by the translator, additions culled from the most diverse collections of Oriental stories, etc. (Artin Pasha, Spitta Bey, Garcin de Tassy, Dr. Perron, Decourdemanche, etc.). This is really a very suggestive article.

In the *Revue Africaine* (No. 257, Algiers, 1905), A. Bel, custodian of the Tlemcen Museum, has pointed out, in an article entitled "Trouvailles archéologiques à Tlemcen,"

\* Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1905 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.).

several interesting curiosities. An ancient Arabic solar dial, coming from old Mansoura, near Tlemcen ; a *modd en-nabi*, *modd du prophète*, a bronze vase or measure of 8 decalitres, having an interesting inscription, on which we read that this *modd* was made in A.H. 1049 (A.D. 1639), after the *modd habous* of the town of Fez.

Lastly, in the *Revue Africaine* (the same) we read a really captivating story of M. van Berchem on Musulman epigraphy in Algeria, with respect to "Corpus des inscriptions arabes et turques de l'Algérie" (first fascicule by Mr. G. Colin on the Algiers Department, second fascicule by Mr. G. Mercier on the Constantine Department).

When about to terminate this article, we have received the last fascicule of "Der islamische Orient," by Mr. Hartmann.\* The same includes a long and interesting contribution entitled "Ein Heiligenstaat im Islam: das Ende der Caghataiden und die Herrschaft der Chogas in Kasgarien."

\* Berlin : Wolf Peiser, 1905.

## THE EMPEROR BABAR\* IN THE HABIBU-S-SIYAR.

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

THE *Habibu-s-siyar* of Ghiyasu-d-din Khwand Amir is a valuable help towards the understanding of Babar and his Memoirs. The author was a Persian and a native of Herat, and though a great admirer of Babar, there were two men whom he regarded as greater than he—namely, Sultan Husain of Khurasan and Shah Ismail Safavi, the King of Persia; hence his account of Babar is not conceived in a strain of unmixed panegyric. He records his mistakes, and he is explicit about his vassalage to Shah Ismail, and his issuing coins bearing the names of his suzerain and of the Imams. His book also fills up the blanks for several years of which Babar has given no account. The *Habib* was known to Mr. Erskine, the translator of Babar's Memoirs, and Rieu's Persian catalogue shows that he had in his possession a manuscript of part of the second volume. But apparently Erskine did not notice the references to Babar which occur in the life of Shah Ismail, and he failed to draw any inference from the singular resemblance between Babar's Memoirs and the accounts of Babar's early years in Khwand Amir's life of Sultan Husain. He, however, made use in his history of Babar of the seventh volume of the *Rauzatu-s-safa*, which, though ascribed to Muhammad Mir Khwand, is identical with the portion of the *Habib* which deals with the life of Sultan Husain, and is no doubt the work of the grandson Ghiyasu-d-din. The circumstance that the latter, in accordance with Muhammadan custom, took his

\* It has been remarked by Dr. Rieu that the proper pronunciation of this name is "Babur." This is corroborated by a distich at ii. 291, line 7, of the *Habib*, where Babur seems to rhyme with *tahur*. Dr. Rieu's remark is quoted by Poole in the introduction to his "Coins of the Shahs of Persia," p. xxv, note.

grandfather's name, seems to have led to the confusion between the two writers. Another confusion which, as Dr. Rieu has pointed out, is confined to European writers, and which makes Ghiyasu-d-din the son, instead of the grandson, of the author of the *Rausatu-s-safa*, has perhaps arisen from the passage in the *Habib*, Bombay lithograph, ii. 339, in which Khwand Amir says he stands in the relation of son (*farzand*) to Muhammad Mir Khwand. The true relationship, as Dr. Rieu has said, is given at p. 198 of the same volume.

The *Habib* is a general history from the time of the patriarchs to near the end of Shah Ismail's reign—that is, to near the middle of 1524. It was begun early in 927—that is, in the beginning of 1521—but the author had not worked at it many months when his progress was stopped by the death of his patron Ghiyasu-d-din al Husaini, who was put to death by Amir Khan, the guardian of Shah Tahmasp, on suspicion that he was plotting with Babar to surrender to him the city of Herat. The circumstances under which Ghiyasu-d-din was put to death are detailed at great length in the *Habib* in the account of the reign of Shah Ismail, pp. 93 *et seq.* He was put to death on 7 Rajab, 927 (June 13, 1521), shortly after the Uzbeks under Ubaid Ullah Khan had retired from an unsuccessful attempt to take Herat. Though the plotting with Babar appears, from pp. 93 and 100, to have been the ostensible cause of the murder, the real reason apparently was because Ghiyasu-d-din disapproved of Amir Khan's administration, and was preparing to complain to Shah Ismail about it. At this part of the history we incidentally (see p. 96) learn that Babar was in the end of 926 and beginning of 927 actively engaged in besieging Shuja' Beg in Qandahar. Both Amir Khan and Ghiyasu-d-din expostulated with him, but Babar replied that no confidence could be placed in Shuja' Beg, and that he hoped soon to send him as prisoner to Shah Ismail, and that he would surrender the keys of Qandahar and the Garmsir to whom-



soever the Shah chose to appoint. We also learn that Khan Mirza Babar's cousin died in 926 or 927, and not in 917, as stated by Haidar Mirza, or the copyist, and that Babar appointed Humayun to take charge of Badakhshan.

After the death of Ghiyasu-d-din, Khwand Amir found a new patron in Khwajah Habib Ullah, whose name he inserted into the title of his work. The *Habib* was substantially completed in the end of 929, or in 930 (1524), and before he left Herat, though it appears from a statement at the end of the first volume, or *jild* (p. 84 of vol. i.), that the finishing touches were given at a Tirmohana, or river junction, in Bihar in 935 (1529). On this point Elliot (iv., pp. 143, 155), and Rieu's Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts (iii., 1079, col. 2), may be consulted. Sir Henry Elliot suggests, with, as it appears to me, much probability, that what Khwand Amir did in India was to re-copy for the third time the work which he had already completed. He certainly could not have access to many books either in Qandahar or on the way from there to India. The *Habib* was lithographed at Bombay in 1857, and it is from this edition that my quotations are made. The passages which deal with Babar are embedded in the biographies of Sultan Husain and Shah Ismail in the second volume. There is also an account of Babar's father, Umar Shaikh, in the section dealing with the sons of Sultan Abu Sa'id. This is at pp. 194 and 195 of vol. ii., and closely agrees with the account in Babar's *Memoirs* (pp. 7-10). Babar's name seems to be first mentioned at p. 195, but his biography begins at p. 271, and extends from his birth to his first conquest of Samarqand—that is, it commences with the first month of 888 (February, 1483), and ends with the last days of November or December, 1497. I mention the two months because, according to Babar's *Memoirs*, he entered Samarqand in the end of Rabi-al-awwal, whereas according to the *Habib* lithograph the entry was at the close of Rabi-al-akhir, 903. This portion of the biography occupies about six pages of the

lithograph, which is a folio containing thirty-one lines to the page, and closely resembles the account of this period in Babar's Memoirs (Leyden and Erskine's translation, pp. 17-48). Immediately before this passage there is, on pp. 270 and 271, an account of the rebellion of the Tarkhans and of the escape of Baisanghar Mirza, which is almost word for word the same as that in the Memoirs, pp. 39, 40. There can be no question, I think, of the practical identity between the account of Babar's early years in the Memoirs and that in the Habib. One of them must have been copied from the other, unless, indeed, both of them have a common source. But for this alternative there is no evidence, and the fact is unlikely. The real point is, "Which is the original?" and for reasons to be given hereafter I am of opinion, though with some doubt, that the Habib is the original, and that Babar has copied and amplified the account there given. As instances of close correspondence of the two accounts, I may refer to Babar's narrative in the Memoirs of what happened on the arrival of the news of his father's death (Erskine, pp. 17-56), where Babar gives the reasons why he could not give up Andijan to his brother Jahangir. In the first instance, the story of Shiram Taghai's taking off the young prince towards the hills, and of their being stopped by an emissary of Maulana Qazi, is told in the same way in the Habib (p. 272), except that the latter represents Shiram as putting his boy-sovereign on horseback, while Babar, naturally enough, represents himself as taking the initiative and mounting his horse, and then having his bridle seized by Shiram. In the second, Babar gives two reasons why he could not comply with Uzun Hasan and Tambol's wishes. One was that he had in a manner promised Andijan to his uncle, and the other was that he could not act under compulsion. Both these reasons, and in the same order, are given in the Habib (p. 291). Throughout the two accounts also we find that the incidents and the names of the persons concerned are given in the same order and with similar

particulars. It seems unnecessary to labour this point further, as the coincidences are too remarkable to be accidental, or to be the result of a common use of the same materials. At p. 277 of the *Habib* the account of Babar is interrupted in order to carry on the narrative of Sultan Husain and his sons, but it is resumed at p. 291, and is continued, with short digressions, to near the bottom of p. 310. The account closely agrees with Babar's accounts of the transactions of 903-908 (pp. 56-98 of *Erskine*). Further on in the *Habib*, at pp. 317, 318, 323, etc., we have accounts of Babar and his uncles' defeat by Shaibani, near Akhsi, and of his conquest of Kabul. Sultan Husain died in the end of 911 (1506), so there is not much more of Babar in the account of the former's reign, but he is often referred to in the account of Sultan Husain's sons, and especially that of Muhammad Zaman Mirza, who eventually became Babar's son-in-law. These references end with 924 or 925 at p. 373, and were written, it appears, about the end of 929. For the events of Babar's career in Persia and Transoxiana during the years 916-919\* (1510-1514), we must refer to the fourth section of the third volume of the *Habib*, which contains the life of Shah Ismail.

The *Habib* is not only valuable because it gives accounts of the years which have been left blank in Babar's *Memoirs*; it also helps us to understand and to correct statements in the *Memoirs*. For instance, it would seem from p. 182 of the *Memoirs* as if Mas'ud Mirza had been married to Sultan Husain's daughter after he had been blinded by Khusru Shah. It appears, however, from the *Habib* that the marriage took place in 904 on Sunday, 3 Zi-al-qada, and that it was after this that Masaud went off to Khusru Shah at Qunduz, and was blinded by him in 905. Eventually he returned to Herat, and it is evidently to this

\* From the *Tarkhan-nama* (*Elliot*, i. 307) it appears that Babar had returned to Afghanistan, and was besieging Qandahar in 919. But the dates in this work are not trustworthy.

period that Babar refers when he speaks of Mas'ud's wife having been made over to him. Again, Babar (Erskine, p. 224) is severe upon his rival Shaibani for seizing upon one Khanim, the wife of Mozaffar Husain, and marrying her, although she was in an impure state, by which is meant, apparently, that a sufficient time had not elapsed from her divorce from her first husband. But the Habib puts quite a different complexion on the affair. According to it Shaibani admired her and proposed marriage, and the lady told him that Mozaffar Husain had divorced her two years ago. A number of respectable people confirmed her statement, and so, there being no legal objection, Shaibani married her (see Habib ii. 359).

The Habib does not give the details of Babar's escape from Karnan, when Yusuf darogha came to him and he expected to be put to death. As is well known, the Persian translation breaks off here at the most exciting point (Erskine, p. 122), though the Turki versions of Ilminsky and Haidarabad continue the narrative, and conclude with Babar's departure from Farghana (see Pavet de Courteille's translation, i. 255-259). The fact that the Habib does not describe the incidents goes to show that Khwand Amir had not Babar's Memoirs before him when he was writing, for it could only be the Turki that was in existence then. The inference, however, is not certain, for the incidents were not in all the Turki copies—*e.g.*, they were not in the Elphinstone manuscript. But though the Habib does not give these details, it furnishes, at p. 317, an important supplement to the Memoirs by describing how Babar and his maternal uncles were defeated by Shaibani near Akhsi. It is evident from this passage that Babar, as Erskine had conjectured (p. 124), succeeded in joining his uncles after the adventure of Karnan, but that this did not much better his position, for all three of them were eventually defeated by Shaibani. The exact date when this occurred does not seem to be known, but it was in the end of 908 or beginning of 909, and according to Babar (see P. de Courteille's

translation, i. 259) four months after his escape from Karnan. Shaibani on this occasion behaved generously towards the two uncles, and set them at liberty after he had captured them. But he sent a message to the people of Tashkand to the effect that if they wished to save their princes' lives they must stop Babar, who had fled towards Mogulistan, and must imprison Khwaja Abul Mukaram. The people of Tashkand carried out the latter order, but they did not succeed in catching Babar, as he came to know that they were holding the mouth of the defile he was in, and so turned aside and went off to Hisar Shadman, and finally to Tarmiz. Of the year 909 Babar gives no account, his reticence, I think, being explained by the fact that it was a year of great hardship and misery. His only allusion to it is at p. 4 of Erskine, where he says, "I spent nearly a year in Sukh and Hushiar among the hills in great distress." The passage in the *Habib* just referred to seems to me to prove that the gap in Babar's *Memoirs* for 909 always existed, and that the omission is not due to any accident to the original manuscript, or to the mistake of copyists. For if Babar had written an account of his and his uncles' defeat by Shaibani and of his subsequent adventures, he never would have written, as he has done (see P. de Courteille, i. 259): "I remained with my uncles for four months. . . . Then it came into my mind that it would be better to leave Farghana." This period of four months must have been before the battle of Akhsi, for after their capture and release they went off to Mogulistan, and Babar had to fly for his life, so that the expression "It came into my mind that it would be better to leave Farghana" is inappropriate, and also insufficient for the description of nearly a twelvemonth of wandering.

Here it may be permitted to me to make a short digression about Babar's *Memoirs*, which Abul Fazl carelessly or ignorantly describes as covering the period from the beginning of his reign to the time of his death.

As is well known, there are several gaps in Babar's

Memoirs. One of them extends over eleven years of his reign in Kabul. Various explanations of the causes of the gaps may be given, but it seems to me that the most probable is that Babar did not like to record his humiliations. We know that he slurs over the facts of his surrender of Samarcand and of his sister to Shaibani, and it is natural that he should evade describing his unsuccessful campaigns against Shaibani's representatives, and still more his humiliating submissions to Shah Ismail and to the Shia religion. The objection to this explanation, and it is a solid one, is that Babar has omitted to describe one of his greatest exploits—viz., his battle with the Moghuls in 914, in which he is said to have been victorious in five single combats. Haidar Mirza speaks of this as one of his greatest achievements. Perhaps, however, Babar left it out because he would be obliged to state that eventually he put to death his cousin Abdu-r-razzaq. The latter was undoubtedly the true heir to the throne of Kabul after the death of his father, Ulugh Beg, who was Babar's father's brother. He may have been unfit to rule, and Babar—who pardoned him once—may have been justified in at last putting him to death, but still it would be an unpleasant circumstance, which Babar would be unwilling to dwell upon, as he had strong family feelings. Perhaps, also, it would not be too far-fetched to suggest that a *rusé* chronicler like Babar purposely left out the account of his brilliant victory in order that his admirers might urge—as they do—that the gaps were not caused by Babar's desire to conceal his misfortunes. However this may be, it seems certain that the blanks have always existed, and I cannot but think that one cause of them has been Babar's reluctance to exhibit himself as a fugitive and as a truckler to Muhammadan nonconformists. If we believe, as I do, that Babar copied from the Habib, another reason for some of the blanks would be that he had no original to work upon; for the Habib tells us little about Babar's career in Kabul, and there does not seem to be any other source.



I now come to the important question of "Which is the original, the Habib or Babar's Memoirs?" The Habib was begun early in 927 (1521), and is generally considered to have been completed in 930 (1524). At the very end of the chapter—viz., the third part of the third *jild* or volume—in which the events of Babar's life are recorded down to his conquests of Kabul, the end of 929 (1523) is mentioned as the time of writing (see p. 378 of Bombay edition), and there is a similar statement at p. 367. If this chapter was finished then, and not greatly altered afterwards, the question might probably be decided at once in favour of the Habib, for it seems certain, and is held both by Erskine and Pavet de Courteille (see Erskine's preface, p. vi, and P. de Courteille's fuller discussion of the subject in his preface, pp. vi-viii), that Babar began to write his Memoirs after his conquest of India—*i.e.*, after 932 or 1526. And if he did not begin his Memoirs till then, it seems almost certain that he must have had some materials\* to assist his memory, such as the accounts of his early years in the Habib. But the discussion is complicated by the fact that at the end of his first volume (Habib, i., p. 82) Khwand Amir speaks of having completed it (that is, the first volume) "after it had been for a long time in the state of a rough draught," at a Tirmohana,† or river junction, in Bihar. This must have been in April or May, 1529, for we know from the same passage, and also from Babar's Memoirs (Erskine, p. 382), that Khwand Amir did not reach Agra till September, 1528 (Muharram, 4, 935), and it was after this that he accompanied Babar to Bihar. See also Babar's Memoirs, pp. 411 *et seq.* There is also the fact that Khwand Amir on more than one occasion gives Babar the title of Ghazi (see Habib, i., pp. 195, 291), which,

\* We know from Badayuni, iii. 180, that Babar had a *Waga-navis*, or historiographer, who came with him to India. His name—or, at least, his *takhallus*—was Atishi Qandahari, for he was also a poet. He was with Humayun in Badakhshan, and died in 973 (1566).

† See the quotations in Elliot (iv., pp. 143, 155), and the Bombay edition (i. 82-84).

Babar tells us (Erskine, p. 367), he assumed in the Imperial titles after the victory over Rana Sanka in 933 (1527). This is startling, but it is not conclusive against the priority of Khwand Amir; for flatterers may have given Babar the title before he publicly assumed it, and they may have thought his exploits against the Kafirs or the inhabitants of Bajour entitled him to the appellation. The title, too, may have been added by Khwand Amir in his final revision. On the other hand, the following facts make for the priority of Khwand Amir. First, it is evident that though he touched up his book three times, it was substantially completed in 929. Secondly, if he had greatly altered or added to his book afterwards, he surely would have made some reference to Babar's conquest of India, and have even given some account of this. But he does not refer to Babar's connection with India except in the preface at the end of the first volume already referred to. Thirdly, he writes of persons being alive whom Babar mentions as having died. Thus at p. 253 we have the statement that Sultanam Begam, the mother of Mirza Muhammad Sultan, and eldest daughter of Sultan Husain, was still alive, whereas Babar (Erskine, p. 181) tells us that she died at Nilab on her way to India. Similarly, we are told at p. 327 that Afaq Begam, the wife of Sultan Husain, was still alive, though all her co-wives were dead; but Babar tells us (p. 183) that he got news in January, 1528 (934), that she had died at Kabul. Fourthly, there are occasionally indications that Khwand Amir could not have had Babar's Memoirs before him when he was writing. One of them is that in Khwand Amir's account of one of Babar's dreams there is no reference to the much more remarkable dream he had at Karnan. Another is that Khwand Amir, in speaking of the quatrains made by Binai and Babar after his conquest of Samarqand, says (p. 307) that Khwaja Abu-l-barka Farāqi also made a quatrain, and that he remembers two lines of it. He then gives these two lines, which are in Turki. Now, if he had had Babar's Memoirs before him, he could have given the

whole four, for Babar gives the complete quatrain (see Erskine, p. 91, and Ilminsky, p. 107). At p. 306 Khwand Amir describes the taking of Samarqand by Babar the second time, and compares it with Timur's capture of Qarshi, both heroes having had only 240 soldiers.\* But Babar in his Memoirs (p. 88) takes no notice of Timur, and makes an elaborate comparison between his own exploit and that of Sultan Husain in taking Herat, to the disadvantage of the latter. Surely if Khwand Amir, who was then writing the life of Sultan Husain, had come across this passage in the Memoirs, he would have had something to say about the comparison. Again, Babar, in his account of what led to the Battle of Khwajah Kardzan, ascribes his precipitation to astrological reasons and takes all the blame upon himself (Erskine, p. 92), whereas Khwand Amir says nothing about the aspects of the stars, and softens Babar's rashness by ascribing it in part to the influence of Qambar Ali, whom Babar does not mention, except to say that he assisted him in his preparations. Finally, Khwand Amir gives a somewhat different and less favourable account of Babar's transactions with Khusru Shah, and describes the latter as arriving in a state of destitution at Badiu-z-Zaman's camp, and as complaining of his treatment (p. 320); and apparently this is the foundation of Ferishta's remarks on the subject. Khwand Amir also (p. 318) ascribes to Amir Muhammad Baqar, otherwise Baqi Cheghaniani, the ruler of Tarmiz, the merit of having persuaded Babar to attempt Kabul, whereas Babar (Erskine, p. 128), though he mentions Baqi Cheghaniani, and speaks of going to Tarmiz, says nothing about his persuasions. For these reasons I am inclined to think that Khwand Amir wrote his account of Babar before seeing the Memoirs, and before they were written, and that Babar afterwards used the Habib as the groundwork of the

\* According to the Zafar-nama, Bib. Ind. ed., i. 129, and the Habib, i. 11 of the third portion of the third *jild*, the exact number of Timur's followers was 243. Babar (Erskine, p. 86) says that when he proceeded against Samarqand he had only 240 men, good and bad.

first part of his autobiography. This does not deprive Babar of the merit of writing his Memoirs, for the graphic touches and the personal details are all his own, and the Habib does not go beyond the time when Babar was only lord of Kabul.

If it be objected that the statement of Khwand Amir at the end of his first volume shows that it was not finished till 1529, and that the rest of the book may have been written even later, for the author lived into Humayun's reign and died at Burhanpur in 1535-1536, the answer is, that not only does he in several places speak of 929 and 930 as the time of writing, but also at the very end of his book he gives two chronograms expressive of the fact that the work was finished in 930 A.H. The Habib consists of three volumes divided into twelve sections (see Elliot, iv. 157), and a Khatima, or conclusion, descriptive of the wonders of the world. At the end of this conclusion the author says that the world is full of wonders, and that it is impossible to describe them all. The greatest marvel of all, however, he says, is that a feeble soul like himself should have been able in a short space of time to write this great history of kings, saints, and philosophers. He then gives two chronograms, both of which yield 930 or 1524.

The remarks at the end of the first volume (i. 82), already referred to, are lengthy, and were perhaps not all written at the same time; or if they were, they seem to me to cover a long space of time, and to refer to disparate events. The heading of the remarks is, "Thanks to God for completion of the first volume, and prayers for the preservation of the glorious minister"—that is, his patron, Khwajah Habib Ullah, who is designated Asaf, after the name of Solomon's vizier. The panegyric on Habib Ullah refers to his having read his book and corrected it, and goes down to the twelfth line of p. 84. This part ends with a distich, announcing that his words are finished. Then comes the statement, "Be it known that this work was completed for the third time on the way to India."

Then the author goes on to say that he left Herat in the middle of Shawwal, 933 (middle of July, 1527), and came to Qandahar. There he began to write these pages (*in sawad*), but before he had finished the first chapter (*juz*) fate seized his collar and dragged him to India. He set off on Jamadi-as-sani 10, 934—i.e., on March 31, 1528—and on account of the heat and the rain, etc., was seven months on the journey, and did not arrive at Agra till Muharram 4, 935—i.e., September 18, 1528. He fell ill shortly after his arrival, and remained in a dangerous state for several months. Afterwards he accompanied the Emperor Babar to Bihar, and wherever there was a halt he worked at his book, finally completing it at the junction of the Sarju and Ganges (about May, 1529). The remarks conclude with a panegyric of Babar and of his secretary, Zainu-d-din Khwafi. The latter wrote an account of Babar's conquest of India, if he did not translate the whole Memoirs, and he certainly could have given Khwand Amir full information about Babar's career, and perhaps have shown him a copy of the Memoirs. It is possible, then, that Khwand Amir inserted in his history his details about Babar after his arrival in India, and that he and not Babar is the copyist. But this does not seem likely. The subject of Babar was germane to his life of Sultan Husain, and would naturally fall to be written at the time he was writing that part of his work—viz., 927-930. There are also indications, I think, that Khwand Amir could not have had the Memoirs before him when he was writing the account of Babar's early years. Surely, too, if he had written that account after seeing the Memoirs, he would have taken pride in mentioning the fact, and would have dilated on Babar's most splendid achievement, his conquest of India.\*

\* At p. 196, vol. ii., it is stated in the account of Ulugh Beg and his son that Babar is seated on the throne of Kabul, and rules over the territories once possessed by Mahmud of Ghazni. This, the author says, is the case at the present time, which is the end of Ramazan, 929 (August, 1523). In this passage the author calls him only Babar Mirza, and says that Babar continues to behave loyally towards Ismail Shah.

On the contrary, he never refers to it, unless his occasional use of the title Ghazi be an allusion to it. It should also be noted that according to a statement at the end of the Bombay edition (p. 50), the lithograph was made from a manuscript in the author's own handwriting, dated 932. If this statement could be relied upon, it settles the question by showing that Khwand Amir could not have seen the Memoirs, as they were not written then. I find a difficulty, however, in accepting it, on account of the remarks at the end of the first volume, which certainly were not finished before 935. The above statement is contained in the biography of Khwand Amir, with which the edition ends, and on the page immediately preceding it is said that Khwand Amir is described in the *Waqiat Babari*, which Babar wrote in Turki and Zainu-d-din translated, to have been received by Babar in the *Hasht Bihisht* garden (at Agra) on Rabi-al-awwal 8, 935 (December, 1528). This second interview, for that in September is mentioned both by Babar and Khwand Amir, is not mentioned in the Memoirs nor in the copy of Zainu-d-din accessible to me.

I have not space to dwell upon the numerous references to Babar which are contained in the life of Shah Ismail. They supplement Babar's Memoirs, which are a blank for this period, and they are earlier in date and fuller in parts than the descriptions in the *Tarikh Rashidi* of M. Haidar. One of the most important passages occurs at pp. 65 *et seq.* There it is said that Babar sent petitions and presents to Shah Ismail in Herat, and that, the latter having agreed to his taking possession of Transoxiana, Babar advanced to Samarqand in company with his Persian auxiliaries. We are also told the contents of a letter written by Babar, and how he issued at Samarqand coins bearing the names of the Imams and of Shah Ismail, and how the proclamation was made in the name of the latter. The two subsequent defeats of Babar are also described, and we read at p. 74 of Babar's having taken refuge at



Kishm in Badakhshan in 919. At p. 81 there is a detailed account of a dreadful famine which prevailed in Herat and other parts of Khurasan in that year. It lasted for more than two years (1513-1514), and was marked by the horrors of cannibalism.\* Apparently it was not so much caused by natural causes as by the interruption to husbandry produced by the war.

\* Khwand Amir says that not only did bands of ruffians waylay solitary passengers in the lanes, etc., and kill and eat them, but that many persons made a trade of selling *ghee*, which was the produce of human flesh (*roghan-i-adami*). The famine lasted from 919 to 921. Khwand Amir's account is valuable, as it is that of an eye-witness. It may be noted here that a life of Khwand Amir and some account of the Habib will be found in an article by Quatremère in the July number of the *Journal des Savants* for 1843, pp. 386-393.

## "THE RING FROM JAIPUR."\*

BY R. E. FORREST.

A, B, and C sat together. A and C had retired ; B was home from India on furlough.

A. The author says : " There are bazaars in India where the eternal mystery of the East seems to gather and fill the place." What is the mystery of the East ?

C. Never found it in any of the Districts I was in : only hard and horrid facts.

B. It is always somewhere else. Perhaps it is to be found in Siberia or Siam. India does not seem the place for it. It is the land of glare ; of vast openness ; of the uncovered. In it a strip of cloth forms a suit of clothes for a man, a string a garment for a child ; there you have not even the mystery of decency, as one saw when riding by a village at dawn.

C. And when one continued one's ride over the huge open stretches of cultivated or barren land, how one's heart cried aloud for the mystery of a shaded sun, the mystery of clouds, of their shadows, of the hedgerow, and the coppice, and the wood !

B. Yes ; for mysteries you must go to lands of cloud and mist. I believe a resident of Glasgow can see as much of the mysteries of sky and earth, and of human life, as a resident of Cawnpore.

A. There is a feeling of mystery as you ride across one of those wide, level, open Indian plains, where nature seems reduced to its elements of earth and sky.

C. Certainly : the same mystery that attaches to everything in the land—its thought, its literature, its science, its sacred books—the mystery of vacuity.

A. But you would find it on the mountain heights, in the midst of the Himalayas.

B. It is curious to think that when we first took Northern

\* By Frances M. Peard. Smith, Elder and Company, London.

India the sources of the Ganges and the Jumna were as mysterious as those of the Nile.

C. Now they are mapped. The mysterious means the unknown. The mystery we talk about is within ourselves; it is a condition of the feelings, a state of the mind. It is excitement. It is born of ignorance and fear.

A. Nay, of the poetic faculty, too.

C. In its childish condition.

B. I have found in the Himalayas scenes exceeding in grandeur those of any European mountain-chain; but the feeling of mystery might possibly attach oftener to the latter. The Himalayan landscapes—though so vast, so sublime—were so open, so distinct, so clear spread.

C. For mystery you want plenty of darkness, within and without.

A. You said, B, that the mystery was always somewhere else. The author goes on to say: "The strange Eastern glamour which hangs about the Peshawar streets is not so subtle as that found farther south." The glamour, like the mystery, is always further off.

B. 'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view.

C. Certainly of an Indian bazaar. The glamour of an Indian bazaar. Good Lord! There is about as much of it in most bazaars as there is of the brilliancy of Paris in a rude Breton hamlet. The glamour of the ordinary bazaar, with its one main street, with the inconceivably poor shops on either side; the butcher's shop, with its pieces of goat's flesh and its flies; the confectioner's, with its boiling oil and flies, its fat, three-quarters naked, profusely perspiring confectioner: the main street, with its pariah dogs and dust and flies, the blear-eyed old women, the pot-bellied children, the spindle-shanked men, it may be the leper and the man with elephantiasis; its narrow, filthy side-alleys, the border of poor huts, its encircling open latrine. There is no mystery, none at all, only horrid facts.

A. The mystery may lie in the great cities.

C. Not more than in the great cities elsewhere. We

have read such books as "The Mysteries of Paris," "The Mysteries of London." The scene of the "City of Dreadful Night" should be laid in New York rather than in Calcutta. I do not remember which enjoys the vile supremacy—the Christian or the heathen city—but of all the great cities of the world, of which the statistics are available, New York and Calcutta are the two in which the prostitutes are in largest proportion to the population.

B. They are not wanting among ourselves.

C. No; but they are condemned by public opinion, their haunts held vile, they slink, do not vaunt themselves.

B. Not in Regent Street?

C. That is a public disgrace. But mark the difference. They have not their upper chambers in Regent Street; do not sit out in their balconies in the scarlet robes, and with the bare head and face, of shamelessness, advertising their abodes. What mystery, what shamefacedness, there is, is here, among us. In India the vile calling is a part—a recognised, not unhonoured part—of the social and religious system. They do not form here a part of our religious establishments. In India the courtesans do form a part of the resident population of the great Hindu temples. In London men of the highest position would not have a concourse of prostitutes as a part of a public entertainment: they do in India.

A. But there has been the secretiveness of other crimes. Climatic influences have made the people weak in mind and body, and therefore secretive. There was the secret murder system of the Thugs, there was a mystery in that.

C. There have been, and are, secret murder and assassination societies in Europe, and in America, too.

B. None so wide-spread, so long-continued, so ruthless, so careful to guard against all personal risk, whose ends were so low and mean, in which one's own gain was set so preposterously above the loss of others—a whole family, father, mother, children, babe in arms, massacred for the sake of its miserable belongings.

C. The bomb-throwers of Europe do not seem to mind about the killing of innocent people, the slaying of women and children.

B. They do not desire to slay the little child, do not strangle it with their own fingers. There was something peculiarly cunning, cruel, ruthless, unmanly, reptilian about the murders of the Thugs.

A. The difference between the proceedings of these men and those of our highwaymen may, perhaps, indicate a difference of national characteristics.

B. The Thugs gave to their wholesale murder and their wholesale theft a religious character.

C. Being Hindus it would be so ; with them everything, good or bad, high or low, is religious. But the Sicilian brigand, too, makes offerings to his patron saint or the Madonna. There has been more mystery of every kind in Italy than in India.

A. There is the mystery of the Hindu religion, with its myriads of worshippers, its strange gods (C. Very strange), and their extraordinary representations (C. Most extraordinary), Krishna and Kali and Mahadéo, and their often terrible images.

C. Placed in the gloomy dusk of the innermost shrine, through which the stones of enormous value which constitute the images two eyes gleam. One of them is carried off by a hidden Englishman ; the trackers are set to work ; they turn up in Piccadilly. The image I have seen oftenest is the lingam, out in the open. Carlyle refers to what it represents as the open secret ; there is no secrecy here, all openness. The lingams and the women in the precincts of the villages at dawn ; there really is no mystery in India. This image certainly only represents facts. But I never could see the play of imagination in any of the images ; they are a mere jumble of facts ; the multiplication of arms and legs, the clapping on of wings, does not display imagination, but the lack of it ; if there is any fancy about it, it is a childish one. The noble faculty of imagination does not

display itself in giving a human figure four arms and four legs and the head of a beast.

A. There is the mystery of the Sacred Books of the Hindus.

C. There was ; acquaintance with them dispels it. I do not know Sanscrit, and so I plunged eagerly into Max Müller's translations in the India Office Library. I was horrified. Page after page of foolish, childish, disgusting rubbish ; the bare-faced, preposterous regulations of the Brahmins for their own benefit ; the heavy, cruel, nauseous penalties they enjoined for the slightest injury to themselves. It was like expecting an auriferous deposit and finding a collection of potsherds, a filth-map. It was a great work of Max Müller's ; it laid open to us a page in the history of the human mind ; but he must often have been depressed in the midst of his long and arduous labours to find himself translating the unworthy sentences by the thousand, the worthy, those of any intrinsic use or value or beauty, by the five, the two, the one.

A. It is a mark of the new time in India, of the change wrought by our system of education, that men who still cling passionately to their own—the Hindu—religion, yet lament the ignorance, the want of any real knowledge, the low level of morality, of the priesthood.

C. There are men of high intelligence, lofty thinkers, leaders of very pure and simple lives, among the Brahmins ; but, as a class, they are greedy, ignorant, immoral, domineering, cunning, combative, oppressive, wholly given up to self-seeking.

A. I heard one of the great Zemindars of Oudh, a man of large possessions, deliver an address in London, in the English language, upon the Brahmin priesthood. In it he dwelt in quaint but passionate language on the tyranny exercised by the Brahmins in Indian households ; on their everlasting exactions.

B. The exactions seem to go the length of usurpation of the husband's special rights and privileges.



C. The Brahmin leaves his slippers at the doors of women's bedchambers to give notice of his temporary ownership. That is quite open. There is no mystery there.

A. A native gentleman reading a paper in London very lately said in it that English people often talked about the mystery of India, but that if they would learn the native languages and cultivate intercourse with the people, they would find there was no mystery.

B. There was a mystery when India was remote and little visited, and the feeling has continued on to this day.

A. It is kept up because of its usefulness in the romantic literature about India. The British public demands it; the publishers insist on it; it is the mystery and the magic that make the book sell. The English reader does not care about a delineation of the real, ordinary life of the people of India; it is unfamiliar and unknown to him.

B. An honest critic declared the other day that it was irksome to him to have to review such a book, from his want of knowledge of the mode of life portrayed; that is, if it was confined to such portrayal; when mystery and magic were thrown in he could have something to say; about them he knew as much——

C. Or as little.

A. Or as little, as the writer.

B. As Dr. Johnson said, the object of a book is to be read; if the mystery and the magic cause it to be read, that is full justification.

A. Quite so.

C. I should say perhaps so.

A. Quite so; but it seems unfortunate, as misdirecting effort, that the critics should hold that any description of the ordinary life of the people of the land is superficial, represents only its superficial aspects, while the mysterious and the magical represent "the soul of the land," "the heart of the people." Surely "the soul of the land" is represented in its arts and sciences, its literature, its handicrafts, its banking and its commerce; by its social and

domestic laws and organizations, and not merely in its superstitions. The landowner and the tiller of the soil represent the heart of the people, of whom they form the bulk, as much as the solitary in the forest, the mad fakir, and the wandering visionary. Yes, the realities of India are its wonders. The problems of the future are its mysteries. We need not the sham occult, or the childish mystery and magic, to stir our sensibilities. India appeals to our sense of wonder by its extent, by its vast stretch of hills and forest and desert, and cultivation; by its lofty mountains and great rivers, its animal and vegetable world, its varied tillage, its enormous population, forming a main section of the human race; by its varied nationalities, tribes, and races, its different grades of civilization, its manners and customs, its domestic and social systems, its handicrafts, its buildings, its ancient literature, its systems of religion, its past in the present. It awakens our deepest interest in connection with the past, the present, the future; here, alive and in being, and to be observed, are institutions, modes of life, stages in the process of evolution of human society, primary grades of civilization which have passed away elsewhere; and on this ancient and long-stationary civilization now, in the present, have been brought to work the thought, the sentiment, the mechanical appliances of the most advanced civilization in the world. With what results in the future? The deeply interesting question can be asked with reference to a hundred different matters: What change will there be in home and social life? in thought and in feeling? in agriculture, manufacture, commerce? in the great caste principle, with its good to millions and its harm to millions; with its elevating, supporting, guarding, steadying influence; its evil, unjust, cruel, degrading disabilities? in the Hindu religion, whose strong grip has been one main cause of the retardation of progress, the prevention of change, the long stoppage of the process of evolution? One observer has said that nothing has been done by any indigenous race long settled in the land, only by foreigners

and new-comers such as ourselves, whose justification for being in the land is that we are doing the work which the people cannot and will not do. Another has said that, owing to the adverse climatic influences, the level of thinking and writing must always be low, as it always has been. Then, to what extent will the possession of the appliances of civilization, continued good government and security, works of public utility, the accumulation of wealth, better housing and clothing, better food, dispensaries, hospitals, have in counteracting the adverse climatic conditions, in raising up a stronger, healthier race, one on a higher physical, intellectual, moral plane, a new man? And how are the changes which are being brought about through our own endeavours and agency likely to effect ourselves and our rule, England?

C. It is obvious that the mystical business has been introduced into this book merely to meet the public demand, and to obtain a taking title. It is not in accord with the writer's turn of thought or qualifications. She is more concerned with the play of the emotions in ordinary daily life. She cannot produce the mystical atmosphere, make her mystery tell. It is very small magic. Her dealing with it is perfunctory. It has no real concern with the story. It is dealt with only in a few pages. It does not impress the reader. It shows incongruous in the book, which is of the chatty, gossipy order. The situations in which it appears are not strong. The first one, in which it is given to the heroine on the top of the Travellers' Rest House at Jaipur, in the presence of Sir Robert Chester, a Commissioner—Commissioners and Lieutenant-Governors now figure in all Anglo-India novels—is absurd; and the last one, in which the ring is found—you remember the heroine throws the ring away in a fit of anger, not outside, of course, but in her own room, and then she cannot find it, and there is a tremendous search for it by others, and it cannot be found; then when the estranged husband comes into the room, on reconciliation bent, he alludes to the loss, and wonders if he could find it, and she bids him "tackle

the magic"—delightful incongruity!—and he takes out his penknife, and, opening one of the blades, he inserts it into a crevice in the floor, and out comes the ring, and he puts it on her finger, and they are reconciled—is ridiculous: the only amusing thing I found in the book.

A. And yet the writer has a strong central situation, one simple and natural, often occurring, having the strength of reality and fact, giving room for much tragedy and comedy.

B. What is it?

A. You have not read the book?

B. No.

A. It is that of a young girl who, immediately after her marriage, goes out to India with her husband, an officer in an English regiment. She conceives a horror of India, has a desperate longing to get back to England to her old home, and, repulsion and attraction acting together, she declares at the end of ten months of stay that she must go, notwithstanding that it is not agreeable to her husband, who looks on it as rather an uncomplimentary early desertion of himself, the more felt because of her open declaration—she being very honest and frank—that the attraction has more force than the repulsion: that she must go to England in order to see the old home circle and form a part of it once more.

C. In fiction the marriage-tie is held the stronger; but I do not know that in reality the first home-ties and relationships—those of consanguinity and long-continued, close communion, of love pure and simple—are not so; at all events, they are not capable of dissolution like those of marriage.

A. The husband, in his solitude and resentment, turns toward the wife of a Major in the regiment, who had been his first love, who had seemed not unfavourable to him, would probably have been his wife at this moment, but for the appearance of the other, the one that now is.

C. We hear a good deal of the gay grass-widow, but not so much as we might of the gay married bachelor.

A. The two old lovers, the one angry with his wife, the other not loving her husband, a drunken brute, whom she married without loving him—here is a situation for great evolvment and involvement of feeling, for complications and entanglements and considerations of various kinds. He had not really loved her fully before, but now his feelings rise to a dangerous height; she had loved him deeply then and does now, but prevents evil consequences because of her love for him, because she does not love her husband, because she had married him without loving him. In the meanwhile, England reached, the wife finds, the first bubbling up over, that she has dropped out of the family circle, is no longer a member of the household, that her continued occupation of the spare bedroom disturbs the family plan of inviting the eligible young man who is displaying an affection for her youngest sister; that the local social circle is not the same to her as before.

C. Not an uncommon experience.

A. So she writes to her husband about the pleasure which she will have in going back, but his replies are cold and repellant; and when she writes that she is returning at the time fixed, at the end of the six months, he writes to say that, as she is in England, she had better remain there. So she takes her passage herself at once, and goes out without letting him know. In India the scene has shifted to Delhi, and the drunken Major is there laid on his death bed, and on it he delivers to his wife a small, curiously-shaped metal box, which contains a white amethyst which he has received as a bribe from one Abul Haidar, declaring that he had done so merely to benefit the boy, their only son; but now he wishes it to be restored to Abul Haidar, lest he, not receiving his *quid pro quo*, should make the matter public, and so bring disgrace on the Major's name, to the everlasting injury of the son. There is a great to-do about this matter, which is all incomprehensible and improbable, rumours that disturb the local police officer, also his sister Molly, and also the Government, so that the

before-mentioned Sir Robert Chester, the Commissioner of Peshawar, an able official and nice man, is transferred to Delhi to deal with it. The real object of all this white amethyst business, which occupies an inordinate amount of space in the book, and takes away the interest of the reader from the first central motive, is to cause Mike, or Captain, Hamilton, the deserted husband, to turn away from the widow, the old love, back to Patty, the wife with whom he is angry, by placing the widow in circumstances which make her appear not only deceitful and dishonest but criminal. She has penetrated into the Zenana of Abul Haidar in order to deliver the ring into his own hands, is seen coming out of it by Mike, refuses all explanations, and she had told him before that she had never heard of Abul Haidar—a lie! Such conduct being in glaring contrast to the honesty and frankness of Patty, who, however wilful, is always frank. Then Patty herself arrives and goes to the hotel, and someone tells Mike of the arrival of his wife, and he is furious at being made a laughing-stock from not knowing of her coming, and he won't take a bungalow for her and leaves her at the hotel under charge of the bearer who has come up with her from Bombay.

C. That was not usual in my time.

B. Nor now.

A. Notwithstanding the doubts Mrs. Musgrave, the widow, has raised in his mind, Mike continues to be very attentive and kind to her because she seems to suffer, and has been left in distressed circumstances, and Patty is furiously jealous, and there is much display and discharge of feelings and emotions of various kinds, complications and misunderstandings. Then things begin to clear, the husband turns again toward the wife, there is the scene of the finding of the ring, and the reconciliation and coming together again, and the death of Mrs. Musgrave clinches the matter. There the curtain ought to drop. But if the public demands mystery it also demands a happy ending; so we have the uninteresting episode of the courtship of



the Commissioner and Miss Molly, which has nothing to do with the rest of the book, thrown in.

C. I found the book tedious.

A. You would ; you are a hard-hearted brute. It is a feminine book, and meant for feminine readers. Mike and Patty as the names of the two principal personages shows that.

C. The complications and misunderstandings seem to arise out of nothing, or for no adequate reason. There are no incidents, no action, no scenery, no atmosphere. It is all feelings and talk.

A. The writer knows what she can do best. The considerable list of her former works shows that she has her clientele, and she knows what it—mostly feminine, probably—likes best, and she gives that, and only that. Other things would bore it. She keeps the emotions on the move, and the talk continually flowing.

C. Well, I like people to act sometimes for obvious and not always for unobvious reasons ; and it seems to me that without locality and action you can have no reality.

A. The author's knowledge of India seems first-hand. She is generally right in her local descriptions and allusions, and does not make the monstrous blunders some others have made. But there are some errors. The flat roof of a house at Jaipur would not be covered with lead.

C. No.

A. Nor are Commissioner and Chief Commissioner interchangeable terms ; the Commissioner of Peshawar or Delhi is not a Chief Commissioner.

B. He only wishes he was.

A. Then when Mike marches his men to church at Delhi it is said "the clash of arms as they filed into their seats marked a change since that Mutiny Sunday when, with muskets left in barracks, the troops were practically defenceless." This is a strange error in one whose information and observation is generally so correct. The Mutiny Sunday was at Meerut. There were no English

troops in Delhi when the Mutiny broke out. But the book has given us a good long talk. (C. Long, certainly.) It has given me a good read. It is a lady-like book. There is in it nothing offensive or disagreeable. We have here none of that prurient stuff by means of which under guise of a high regard for art and morality so many of our women, as well as men, novelists seek a good sale for their pernicious wares. It is a nice, pleasant, agreeable, readable book.

## THE JAGANNATH CAR FESTIVAL.

By W. EGERTON, I.C.S.

THE Jagannath Car Festival, which takes place annually in Orissa, is one of the most famous as well as ancient of Indian religious ceremonies. The Province of *Orissa* sprang into momentary fame at the time of the great famine of 1866. Since then it has slumbered in peaceful but prosperous obscurity, like most of the other large provinces that go to make up the Indian Empire. When that great disaster, which swept off two millions of the population, occurred, the search-light glare of publicity was turned on to Orissa in the shape of a special Commission, which had to perform the delicate task of apportioning blame among high officials. Shortly afterwards the late Sir William Hunter wrote the "History of Orissa," by which he first established his reputation as a historian. Since then Orissa has prospered exceedingly as an appendage to the satrapy of Bengal, from which it is no longer cut off, as in former times. Still, the province may be described as a *terra incognita*, except as regards the small handful of officials who administer it on behalf of the Government. It is the object of this article to describe briefly the great Car Festival as the writer saw it not long ago.

The shrine of the god Jagannath in the sacred town of Puri, which is situated between Calcutta and Madras, on the east coast of India, has been for many centuries past one of the most famous in the whole of India. Thousands of foot-sore pilgrims and mendicants annually wended their weary way along the Orissa Trunk Road, coming from north, south, east, and west. It may be doubted if the oracles of *Delphi* and *Dodona*, or even holy Mecca itself, ever claimed a greater or more enthusiastic throng of worshippers than this celebrated seat of Hindu worship. By the construction, a few years ago, of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway from Calcutta to Madras, with a branch-line to

Puri, the road traffic has much decreased, and the ravages of cholera among the pilgrims have been simultaneously checked. For many days prior to the Car Festival special trains, crammed full of passengers, block the line, and on the great day itself the sight is almost indescribable. Hitherto Puri has been unvisited by the globe-trotter, lying off the beaten track and not being easy of access. The Cook's tourist visits Bombay, and from thence he probably proceeds to Jaipur, Agra, Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Benares, and Calcutta. If he can fit in a short rush up to Darjiling to see the Himalayas, he feels he has seen India, and departs well pleased to write a book thereon. But now there is no longer any reason why the visitor, hard pressed for time though he may be, should not include a visit to Orissa in his itinerary. Although the Car Festival does not take place till July, after the setting in of the rainy season, there are still many things worth seeing in the towns of Orissa, from Balasore, where the first English factory was established about 1635, to Cuttack, with its fortress, and Bhubaneswar, with its well-known carvings and quaint temples. In the south of Orissa lies Puri, with the temple of Jagannath, only a days' journey by rail from Calcutta.

After a life-time spent in India, an Englishman may hope to know but little of the innermost life of the people; but it will be his own fault if he has neglected the many opportunities open to him of coming in contact with them and of gaining their confidence. Nothing is more extraordinary or more worthy of attention than the conduct of the Indian people at the time of their great religious festivals. It was with the object of seeing for myself a unique spectacle and learning at first hand what took place at the dragging of the cars that I visited Puri at the time of the Car Festival. I did not make the visit in any official capacity, though I accepted the hospitality of the resident magistrate, and thereby got better opportunities for seeing what took place.

When a small town is suddenly filled to overflowing with a multitude of enthusiastic mendicants and fanatics, it may well be imagined that the sanitary arrangements require the utmost attention of the authorities. The magistrate and civil surgeon, both British officials, have the charge of these arrangements. Outbreaks of cholera are of common occurrence. Another danger is the possible loss of life from overcrowding at the Temple gates. The great preliminary ceremony, which sometimes takes place in the middle of the night, consists in placing the three gods—Jagannath and his brother and sister—in the three large cars which are kept waiting outside the Temple for this purpose. At about 2 a.m. I received an urgent summons to say that this ceremony, known as the "Pahandi," was about to take place. The magistrate, Mr. Garret, had been on the scene for some hours previously, working for all he was worth, to get everything ready. At the time of bringing forth the images of the gods the crush of sight-seers is so great that there is much danger of a catastrophe, and on one occasion a number of pilgrims were killed on the very threshold of the Temple. Hastily throwing on my clothes, I drove down through the narrow and badly-lit streets to the great square. There I found that the "Pahandi" had already commenced, and vast crowds were gathered together. By the lurid light of torches the swaying masses could be distinguished, as a special band of priests carried round the image of the god Jagannath for all to see before placing it in the central car. There I found the magistrate well satisfied with the result of his efforts, as were also all the priests themselves. The huge image was brought close opposite and shown to us by a motley crowd of Temple servants. It is an effigy made of wood and painted in white, black, and red. The people seemed half mad with religious excitement, while the horns blew and the torches waved frantically. All this takes place in the square before the Lion Gate (Singh Darwaza) of the Temple, which stands out grimly in the half-dark of the torch-light. Gradually the noise somewhat

subsides, and some steal away for a few hours' sleep before the labours of the morrow, while many keep an all-night vigil about the sacred cars.

On the next morning the greatest and most important ceremony takes place. The cars, with their divine occupants, must be dragged from the Temple Square to the Garden House—a distance of about a mile and a half down the broad main street of the town. At the top of the street stands the Temple, and all around it are the stalls where the blessed rice (known as “*māhāprasād*”) is sold to the people. All who come to Puri must partake of this food. The Temple itself, except for its antiquity, is not particularly imposing. It is in the form of a pagoda. No European may cross its threshold, but there is no embargo upon Hindus; even those who have adopted Western ideas and abandoned their caste are not prevented from entering. Consequently we are in possession of complete information as to the inside of the Temple, and photographs even have been taken of it by educated natives. A full description of the Temple will be found in Sir William Hunter's “*History of Orissa*,” which, though written over thirty years ago, is still the only authoritative work on the subject. In front of the Temple there stands a wonderfully delicate and exquisite sun-pillar, which does not form any part of the Temple building, and was brought from elsewhere. But interesting as the shrine and its precincts are to those who remember their history and their sanctity in the eyes of millions of the natives of India, the crowd that fills the square, the whole broad street, and all the houses and roofs along the way, is still more extraordinary. Fanatical sadhus, devotees from the Golden Temple of Amritsar, Brahman priests from Benares, Fakirs from Hyderabad, thousands upon thousands of devout women, and crowds of sight-seers and pilgrims from all parts of India, added to the vast numbers of Uriyas who come from nearer towns and villages—this is the picturesque and curious sight that meets the eye. The dragging of the



cars, each of which must be drawn separately from the square to its destination at the Garden House (for the god is supposed merely to be upon a journey from the Temple to the Garden House), has to be carefully supervised by the local authorities. Sometimes the huge ropes supplied by the Temple priests are not sound, and break beneath the strain, and an accident is narrowly averted. In the olden days, before British rule had altered such things, a devotee would now and then be run over by the wheels of the car. Hunter has disposed of the fiction that many suicides took place in this way, but enough deaths occurred, no doubt, to justify the well-known allusions to the "Car of Juggernaut" as an engine of destruction. Slowly the heavy ropes are affixed to one of the ugly wooden cars, and the order to start is given by someone in authority. Hundreds rush forward to assist in drawing the car upon its journey, but the energies of the votaries is soon exhausted. Curiously enough, up to a very recent date, when the Temple management was reformed and improved, the actual dragging of the cars to the Garden House, though only a short distance, sometimes took a week to accomplish. For when the first day's excitement was over many of the pilgrims cleared off, and the hard work of dragging the wooden-wheeled chariots through the heavy sand was universally shirked. Finally, hired labour had to do the needful. Such was the case when I witnessed the performance. Still, at the commencement the enthusiasm is enormous, and no apathy is apparent. Each car is provided with a large automatic brake, and the speed is carefully regulated, because as the route lies down-hill the cars might get out of control, and run over the crowd before the people could escape.

Generally the magistrate and superintendent of police accompany the car, walking in the centre of the road, while the two large ropes on each side are thick with natives of all castes and classes, running alongside and tugging the car along. During the transit the priests strike cymbals

and shout, the devotees shriek replies and prayers, and the din is hideous. The women, above all, are most conspicuous—every roof and window is thronged, handkerchiefs and saris are waved furiously, and loud cries of "Jagannath Ji" rend the air. The strained and eager faces of people standing on the verandahs and roofs of the houses while the procession is slowly advancing down the street are most impressive. Numbers of these people have come on foot, by long and wearisome marches, walking day and night continuously for many weeks, and *this is the consummation of their desire*. They return towards their homes *happy in mind though moneyless and destitute*, often to die of disease on the journey. All the savings which they brought with them have been dissipated in offerings to the god, and in fees to the rapacious priests and servants of the Temple, who are past-masters in the art of cheating the unsophisticated villagers who come to the shrine. The festival lasts in all about ten days, and the priests are careful to keep up several minor celebrations throughout the year as an excuse for looting the pilgrims. But the great day ends with the first Car Procession. After that the heterogeneous crowd of sight-seers begins invisibly to melt away, and European non-officials depart, having seen what they came to see.

It is difficult to describe upon paper the varying impressions produced upon the European mind by the Car Festival of Jagannath. The fact that this same ceremony has been repeated yearly for hundreds of years, preserving probably the same essential features, has in itself a certain fascination for most people. In spite of the inroads of Mahrattas and Mughals, and, finally, the British conquest, comparatively no change has occurred in the annual festival. Truly has the poet sung :

" The East bowed down before the blast  
In patient, deep disdain ;  
She saw the legions thunder past,  
Then plunged in thought again !"

The picturesque blending of colour has its usual effect upon the artistic temperament. Over all, there is the *romantic glamour of the East*. During the coming winter many Englishmen, globe-trotters, and others, will visit India, and perhaps not a few, if they are well informed, will include in their itinerary the towns of Orissa and the Shrine of Jagannath. The holy town of Puri, like Venice, is best approached from the sea. The Temple, which is not far distant from the shore, is seen from a long way off dimly outlined in a vista of haze, and appears to rise from the water itself. The bright golden sand, the white surf, and the ever-present stately palm-trees, form a proper setting for the great pagoda—the ancient tabernacle where Lord Jagannath still reigns supreme, surrounded, as of yore, by his myriads of devoted worshippers, and venerated as the presiding genius of Orissa.

## THE YUNAN EXPEDITION OF 1875, AND THE CHEEFOO CONVENTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF COLONEL (NOW GENERAL)  
HORACE A. BROWNE.

JULY 31, 1874.—(Notes previous to and after an interview with the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook.)

The discovery of a north-east passage between Burma and China has long been agitating the minds of the Anglo-Burman and English mercantile world.

The merit of first drawing attention to the desirability and feasibility of a short-cut to the rich south-western provinces of China must be ascribed to Captain Sprye, who served in Tenasserim during the first Burmese War, and who, after the annexation of Pegu, constituted himself the apostle of the overland route to China.

Captain Sprye's idea was simplicity itself. Any school-boy with atlas in hand can demonstrate that a straight line drawn from Rangoon to the nearest point of the Chinese Empire, which point is on the Cambodia River, between Kyang Hung in Upper Burma and Sze-mao (or Esmok) in Yunan, has a length of only about 500 miles, half of which lies in British territory and the other half in Kyang Hung, a Shan state tributary to Upper Burma.\*

Kyang Hung was visited by Captain (now General) Macleod in 1837, and he found its Shan and Chinese inhabitants, all keen traders, longing for the opening out of a "gold and silver road" to the sea.

To advocate the construction of a railway along this line, Captain Sprye has devoted much time and energy, so much so that the line has come to be known as "Sprye's Route," and he himself imagines that he has acquired a vested interest in any railway that may be constructed along it.

What is more remarkable is that he has succeeded in

\* Since the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 the whole of this line is in British territory.

imbuing others with the same idea. Recently the firm of Fox, Halliday and Co., when negotiating a railway concession with the King of Burma, expressly stated that it had so selected a line as not to conflict with Captain Sprye's claims! And this, though Captain Sprye has not explored a single mile of the line himself. From his armchair in London he glorifies himself as the Wagner or Lesseps of Indo-China. He has now been riding his hobby for fifteen years or more, and writes interminable letters to every Government office in any way concerned, so that in many quarters he has come to be looked upon as an intolerable bore. Some officials, however, back him up, and he has got influential Chambers of Commerce to send memorials to ministers and Parliament. Many of these memorials bear a strong family resemblance to Captain Sprye's own elucubrations which are prosy and unattractive, but they are printed as Parliamentary papers. The gist of them all is simply the announcement of the discovery, which Captain Sprye claims as his own—viz., that the Rangoon-Kyan-Hung-Sze-mao line is only 500 miles long, and that a railway along it would bring the commerce of Western China down to Rangoon.

After years of labour Captain Sprye had a partial triumph in 1867, when the Home and Indian Governments were induced to order a survey (at the Indian Government's expense) of that portion of the line which passes through British territory. The survey showed that, though there were no serious engineering difficulties, the line lies in a mountainous and sparsely peopled territory, and that it would be a waste of money to make a railway along it unless such railway were to be carried 250 miles further on, through Burman territory, so as to tap the rich province of Yunnan.

The English Chambers of Commerce, backed up in a measure by the Home Government, continued to press for the continuation of the survey to Kyang Hung; but the Indian Government obdurately refused to spend the Indian

tax-payer's money on the survey of a line outside British India, though it admitted "that the project possessed great practical recommendations, and it would gladly further the completion of the survey, if its cost would be met from other sources than the Indian Revenue." Some commercial magnates, Mr. W. S. Steel and others, proposed to construct the line as a private enterprise, in return for certain concessions; but the Government, fearing complications with a native state, would not listen to the offer.

Sprye's route would tap Yunan at its Southern extremity. Some degrees further north, at the other extremity of this extensive province, there has existed since the days of Marco Polo, who mentions it, another trade route, from Tengyue-chow (or Momien) in Yunan to Bhamo, on the Irrawaddy, some 900 miles above Rangoon. The active trade which was formerly carried on here has been almost stopped during the last twenty years, in consequence of the Mohammedan rebellion in Yunan. The rebels, known to us by their Burman name of Panthays or Pan-tsees, entirely shook off the Chinese yoke, and were governed by a Sultan who reigned at Tali-foo.

This route, although it lies entirely outside its own territories, the Indian Government has already attempted to explore and reopen. In 1868, when the Mohammedans were at the height of their power, a mission was sent under Major Sladen to open up communication with them. The route lies through a mountainous country inhabited by wild and turbulent tribes, who by their extortionate demands greatly impeded the progress of the expedition, which, in fact, was extricated from its difficulties and enabled to reach Momien only by the aid sent by the Mohammedan governor of that town.

After establishing friendly relations with the Panthays the mission returned, its only noteworthy result being the acquisition of useful information regarding the narrow tract of wild country which it had taken several months to traverse.



This mission was ill-timed and impolitic, having been accredited to men who were in open rebellion against their liege lord, who at the same time was our friend and ally—viz., the Emperor of China. It made, therefore, a bad impression at Peking, and led to one unexpected result—the extinction of Panthay rule in Yunan.

Rebellions in outlying provinces of the Chinese Empire are of not infrequent occurrence, but, as often as not, the Central Government does not trouble itself much about them, leaving matters to right themselves, as they often do.

But this policy of *vis inertiae* is followed only when no foreign complications are to be feared. In the case of the Panthays, the Chinese Government began to take matters seriously only when it found that the English had sent a mission to its rebellious subjects, and that these rebels were sending a return mission to England.

Then, in 1872-1873, it put forth all its might, sent an army of 200,000 men to Yunan, and wiped the Panthays out of existence, sparing neither man, woman, or child. With horrible cruelty and slaughter they re-established Chinese rule over the whole province, Momien being one of the last places to succumb in 1873.

Now that the poor Panthays, the victims of our friendship, have been annihilated, the idea of sending another mission to explore the Momien-Bhamo route has been revived.

This time, of course, care will be taken to obtain the consent of the Chinese Government, and the mission will not start until the passports, applied for by the Ambassador, have been obtained from Peking.

I have been selected to command the expedition. I have followed with interest the accounts of the progress of the French exploring expedition in Indo-China of late years. I have written articles on the subject in the *Calcutta Review*, etc. Those articles may have had something to do with my appointment. I have not been consulted as to the line of march the expedition should take. If I had

been, I should have given the preference to the "Sprye Route." A railway of 500 miles along that route would bring the trade of Western China direct to Rangoon. By the Bhamo route 900 miles of river navigation and 130 miles of road through a difficult country are required to reach Momien, which by all accounts is at a considerable distance from the more populous part of Yunan. The Yunan mountains, a spur of the great Himalayan Range, have generally a north and south direction, and decrease in altitude towards the south. The further one goes north, therefore, the greater are the difficulties to be surmounted. Moreover, the last mission has already made us acquainted with the Bhamo route, whilst the 250 miles which lie between our frontier and Kyang Hung are a perfect *terra incognita*, and therefore much more interesting to an explorer. The objection which the Indian Government made, when it was urged to explore this latter route, that it lies altogether outside British territory, applies, of course, with still greater force to the Bhamo route. As I have already predicted in the *Calcutta Review*, there seems to be no doubt that the French will soon be complete masters of Tonquin, and it will then be important for us to have a solid footing at Kyang Hung, to prevent their establishing a communication behind our backs with Mandalay. The old King is anxiously looking forward to the moment when he will have free communication with his new French allies without passing through British territory, and be able to obtain from them guns and ammunition and all that his heart desires.

The Indian Government, however, has fixed its affection on the Bhamo route, so it will be no good to proclaim myself a partisan of the other scheme. My impression is that no members of the Indian Government, from the Viceroy downwards, are animated with any burning enthusiasm for a Yunan Expedition. They prefer devoting themselves to Indian affairs, which they understand, to meddling with Indo-Chinese problems, which are a puzzle to them. They have consented to a Yunan Expedition

only because they have been continually egged on to do so from two sides, above and below. The Chief Commissioner of British Burma has been clamouring for it on one hand, and on the other hand Lord Salisbury has all but ordered it. The Home Government, pushed on by the English Chambers of Commerce, is rather in favour of the Kyang Hung route. The selection of the other route by the Indian Government seems to be a kind of compromise.

CALCUTTA, *November 25, 1874.*—Since my arrival here I have been engaged in studying the correspondence about our expedition and in making preparations for a start. The party is to consist of: Myself as leader, Mr. Ney Elias as topographer, and Dr. J. Anderson as doctor and naturalist. Mr. Ney Elias is a gentleman who has distinguished himself by his travels in Central Asia. He is now in Mandalay, where he has been sent to collect carriage and make arrangements for a start. In the event of my being incapacitated, he is to assume the leadership of the expedition. We are not to take more than four servants each. We are to have a guard. This has been decided on only after much discussion. The Viceroy, to avoid the risk of offending Burmese and Chinese susceptibilities, would have preferred our dispensing with the protection of an armed force. But it has been decided that we are to take with us many thousand rupees' worth of presents wherewith to propitiate Chinese officials, etc., and give them a lofty idea of the importance of British Burma, of the very existence of which probably they are unacquainted; and in my opinion it would be the height of folly to pass through the Kakhyeng mountains, inhabited by tribes, whose sole occupations are robbing, blackmailing, and plunder, with a valuable train of pack animals and no armed escort. That we should be attacked and plundered under such circumstances is a certainty. I have maintained, therefore, that if I am to have the responsibility of taking charge of a valuable caravan, I must have an armed guard—at least as far as the Chinese frontier. If the

presents are dispensed with and we can travel light with nothing but our personal baggage, I am willing to run the risk, which even then will be great. My arguments have prevailed, and I am to have a guard of fifteen Sikhs of the 28th Regiment. Mahomedans are to be excluded for fear of exciting the suspicion of the Chinese. The presents we are to take are of a miscellaneous description. I have to buy two Australian horses, the biggest I can find. This is a suggestion of the Chinese merchants of Rangoon, who are of opinion that their countrymen will be much struck by the size of these animals. Some Australian kangaroo dogs, also of enormous size, elephants' tusks, rhinoceros' horns (held in great repute by the Chinese as medicine), edible birds'-nests, musical-boxes, clocks, carpets, cutlery, beads, etc., are some other items. The beads are for the benefit of the wild tribes, as the Chinese must be above such trifles. The whole will be of the value of about 30,000 rupees or £3,000, more than enough to tempt the cupidity of the Kakhyengs and to encourage the whole of this collection of robber clans to turn out to attack us.

A part of my cargo of presents I pick and choose out of the "Toshakhana," or Government Treasure House, an *omnium gatherum* where all the gifts received by Government officers from Kings, Maharajas, Rajas, and potentates of sorts are stored and reissued only to be given away. The Baboo in charge has to look out to see that things are not given back to the original donors.

Mr. Wade, our Minister at Peking, has obtained from the Chinese Government passports for our party to Yunnanfu, the capital of Yunnan, with permission to return thence to Burma or to go through China to Shanghai. "The expedition," Mr. Wade says, "will do much good, but not so much as is imagined." What does he mean by this qualification? An interpreter, Mr. A. Margary, left Shanghai in September to meet us, with letters to the Chinese authorities and duplicate passports. This sending of an interpreter is a thoughtful act on Mr. Wade's part;

for we should have been in a rather helpless plight on reaching China if we had only such interpreters as we could pick up in Burma. Mr. Margary is to travel through China to meet us at the frontier, and if he reaches it before we do, he will have the distinction of being the first European in modern times, or since the days of Marco Polo to travel from east to west through the whole breadth of China.

Mr. Wade has given instructions to Mr. Margary as to his conduct whilst travelling, and these instructions are to be a guide for us also. Whilst collecting information as regards trade, we are not to put that forward prominently as the object of our expedition. Pleasure apparently is to be our ostensible object. Nor are we to talk too much about Talifu, the seat of government of the Mahomedan rebels to whom the last mission was accredited. We must not attract attention by anything like surveying operations, measuring heights, etc. In populous localities it will be better not to shoot or hunt, though there is no objection to this elsewhere. We are cautioned against travelling with Roman Catholic missionaries or accepting hospitality from them. The reputation of these gentlemen evidently is not high in the eyes of Mr. Wade, or at any rate in those of the Chinese authorities whom we wish to conciliate.

It seems that these Romish priests, who may be and probably are very worthy personages in their way, do not devote themselves solely to the propagation of their faith and to the performance of their hebdomadal miracle of creating their *Bon Dieu*, but seek also to make their flocks something above and independent of the powers that be. They try to constitute their sanctuaries, as in the dark ages of Europe, houses of refuge for all the scum of the country. The Mandarins, whose degree of civilization is far in advance of that of Mediæval Europe, justly regard the erection of a State within a State as inadmissible, and they resent it when and wherever they have not the fear of a gunboat before their eyes.

These peculiar representatives of Christianity, who ignore the precept about "rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," we are to give a wide berth to, so as to avoid all suspicion on the part of the Chinese as to our being identified with them.

The Indian Government's instructions are that we are to recollect that the principal object of the expedition is to explore trade routes, to ascertain the obstacles that exist in the way of reopening old routes, and how such routes may be improved; to report upon the burdens to which trade is subject, the best means of transport, the measures which it may be practicable to adopt for the protection of traders, and the agency through which it would appear most advisable that trade should be carried on. It will also be our duty to obtain as much information as possible regarding the condition, resources, history, and geography of the territories through which we may pass, and any matters of general or scientific interest which we may have the opportunity of observing.

In all matters of customs and etiquette, and in dealing with the Chinese authorities, I am to be guided by the advice of Mr. Margary, who is peculiarly competent in such matters. I am to be particularly careful to avoid intercourse with any parties in rebellion against the Chinese Government. This seems rather superfluous, as according to all accounts every trace of rebellion has been most effectually stamped out throughout Yunan.

Regarding the route I am to take there have been some contradictory orders. At first it was decided that I should commence my land journey from Mandalay and go from thence due east viâ Thiennee to Yunan, and not go viâ Bhamo and Momien. This would be an approximation to the Rangoon-Kyang Hung route, favoured by Lord Salisbury. This would be an interesting route, as the greater part of it is as yet unexplored. In the maps compiled up to the present time there is a great deal of guess-work hereabouts, and we may hope to furnish more exact



data for the benefit of future geographers. The position of the main points seem to be: Mandalay,  $22^{\circ}$  north, and Kyang Hung in exactly the same latitude  $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  to the east, the former being about  $96^{\circ}$  and the latter  $100^{\circ} 45'$  east. Thiennee is a little to the north of a straight line between these two places. The country east of Thiennee is as yet a perfect blank in our maps. We know not whether it is a tableland or a range of high mountains. Journeying due east brings us to Po-urh, the Chinese district which produces the finest tea, so valuable in China that none of it reaches Europe. Or, should the due east line prove impracticable, we should have to turn north-east, and following the valley of the Salween, arrive at Shunning-fu by crossing the range between the Salween and Cambodia Rivers. The nature of the watershed between these two rivers is as yet an unknown quantity.

Unfortunately this forecast has been upset at the last moment by the news that His Majesty of Mandalay objects to our taking this route. The pretext given for this objection is that a certain Shan rebel or Dacoit chief named Tsanhai is in possession of the Thiennee passes and might molest our caravan. The real reason, no doubt, is that the King's hold on these Shan States is always of a very loose description, and he, thinking we do not know this fact, does not wish us to find it out. As long ago as 1837, Macleod, on his visit to Kyang Hung, found that the Shan chiefs were anxious to throw off the Burman yoke, if only they could make sure of British protection. The King now urges that "the Thiennee route being mountainous and jungly is rough and rugged," while that by Bhamo is "smooth and pleasant." He adds that a Burman Mission is about to go to Peking and will travel by the "Ambassador's route"—*i.e.*, by Bhamo. This last bit of information is of ominous import. Why has the King chosen this particular moment to send an Embassy to Peking? He has been profuse in his promises to do all in his power to help us on our way; but no doubt he does so because he is afraid to

do otherwise. Does he really wish us to succeed in opening out a trade route? I suspect not, and this Burmese Embassy which precedes us is not likely to make the way smoother for us. No doubt it will avail itself of every opportunity for representing our mission in an unfavourable light and poisoning the minds of the Chinese against us. This seems to be an additional reason for selecting the Thiennee route; but the Government seems to think it best to yield to the King's wishes and send me *viâ* Bhamo.

Bhamo is in  $24^{\circ} 20'$  or more than  $2^{\circ}$  north of Mandalay. Momien is in  $25^{\circ}$  and Talifu is nearly  $26^{\circ}$  north, Yunanfu being about the same as Momien.

Mr. Wade has sent us a passport countersigned by the Tsung-li-Yamen, or Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is an imposing-looking document, as big as a street poster, on flimsy paper, with various red splotches which indicate its Imperial origin. This is the translation of it:

"Mr. Wade, Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, has received an intimation from the Viceroy of India to the effect that four officers of His Excellency's Government are about to pass from Burma into China with a certain number of followers. The officers in question may return by the way they came, or may proceed by way of the Great River to Shanghai. This is to request the Governor-General of Yunan, and the high authorities of any other provinces through which the officers above-mentioned may have to pass, to give orders to their subordinates in charge of the frontier passes, or elsewhere, to treat them with civility, and to assist them on their way with all speed. Their names and the names of their attendants are given below.

"Dated July 31, 1874.

"Stamped with the seals of Her Britannic Majesty's Minister at Peking and of the Yamen of Foreign Affairs."

The dispatch with which this is forwarded from the Yamen of Foreign Affairs states that it is "a passport issued for travel in accordance with treaties," making no allusion to the purposes for which such travel is undertaken.

Hence, I imagine, Mr. Wade's recommendation to us not to put trade and commerce too much in the foreground.

Mr. Wade has also sent us a letter of introduction from the Tsung-li-Yamen to the Governor-General of Yunan and Kwei-chow, whose name is Tseng-yu-ying. But Mr. Wade is of opinion that this official's proclivities are decidedly anti-foreign.

In any case, Mr. Wade thinks it will not be of much use to discuss business matters, such as trade routes, commercial facilities, etc., with him or any other Governor-General. "These bigwigs have," he says, "really nothing of the character of satraps or minor potentates which some attribute to them. The civilians, even down to the lowest magistrates, are never natives of the province in which they serve, and, from the highest to the lowest, a brief Imperial decree would deprive them of all power in their jurisdictions. Such a decree once issued, they become but helpless units in the midst of an alien population."

Mr. Wade appears somewhat pessimistic, and evidently he has not a high opinion of the good faith of the Central Government, for he goes on to say: "It may turn out that the provincial Governments have been instructed, if not to stop the mission, to put in its way such obstacles as, without appearing to interfere, they will have it easily in their power to devise, the Yamen here knowing that six months elapse ere a complaint from Yunan can reach me."

That a man with such unequalled knowledge as Mr. Wade of the peculiar ways of the Chinamen should indulge in such a prognostication gives matter for reflection. Mr. Wade concludes in more cheerful strain by saying:

"In any case, I cannot suppose that a mission to examine the trade of that province will do anything but good. The province is a vast region full of natural wealth, and the exploration of the commercial routes which will be traversed by intelligent men cannot fail to be of great utility."

As Mr. Margary may fail to meet us at the frontier, we are to be supplied with a second Chinese interpreter—

Mr. Clement Alen, of the Consular Service, has been sent by sea to join us in Burma.

PROME, *December 17.*—Mr. Fforde, Superintendent of Police, who has been appointed to command our Sikh escort, joins us here. He has already done a very good stroke of business for us by discovering in this district the existence of a Yunnan Chinaman, Li-kan-sheng, more generally known by his Burmese name of Moun-*g*-Yo, who has been settled in Burma for many years, has a Burman family, and speaks and writes Burmese fluently. Fforde desired to engage him as an interpreter, but found him unwilling to accept the post. He was doubtful about our being received as welcome guests in China, and did not think his countrymen would approve of his bringing foreigners into their land. On his being presented to me, my arguments, or, rather, the exhibition of the Tsung-li-Yamen's passport with the vermilion splotches, effected a complete revolution in his sentiments. He accepted the offer to enter my service as soon as he found we were travelling under such auspices, and he did so the more readily because he was anxious to see and to take money to his mother, who lives at Momien. He represents himself as a distant relative of the famous Li-tshi-tahee, who for many years has occupied a prominent position in Burmo-Chinese frontier politics. It pleased the members of the last mission to describe this Li-tshi-tahee as "a dacoit chief, a truculent and unscrupulous bandit," but he was very differently appreciated on the other side of the frontier. There he was considered to be a capable and patriotic Chinese officer, who gallantly and perseveringly struggled to uphold Chinese authority against the Panthay rebels.

Moun-*g*-Yo states that he was employed as a soldier to fight against the Panthays, but, having had enough of that work, he fled to British Burma, where he has been established for some years and has acquired a respectable competence. He is undoubtedly intelligent, and appears honest.

*December 23.*—We reach Mandalay this evening, and a Tsa-re-daw-gyee comes down to the steamer at once to take us up to the Residency, where we stay with Major Strover. The royal theatrical troupe is sent in the evening to amuse us.

*December 24.*—I receive visits from the Myo-tha-won and the Keng-won-men-gyee. The former is the official who usually acts as a go-between for the King and the Residency, and the latter is the Prime Minister. He comes in a carriage and pair, which is a novelty in Mandalay, where elephants or bullock-carts are the usual modes of locomotion. Arrangements are made for my paying formal visits to the different Ministers and the King. I receive a letter from D'Avera, the completely Burmanized Frenchman, who has resided so long at the Burman capital. He is said to have first arrived in Burma as a political spy, sent by Walewski, the French Foreign Minister; but he has long ago severed all connection with the French Government, and lives as a dependent of the King, now in, and now out, of favour. The foreign—*i.e.*, non-British—adventurers who swarm about this petty Oriental Court are always intriguing one against the other. D'Avera, apparently, is just now out of favour, and writes to me as follows: "Let me tell you that the fact of there not being a member of the mercantile community with you has helped some of the local politicians in rousing the suspicions of the King, who has been told that the son of the late Panthay ruler was being brought up by your Government with the view finally of restoring in his favour the power which his father enjoyed, and that the main object of your expedition is to ascertain how and when that could safely be done. The sooner you dispel that idea the better for yourself. Having the honour of not being a paid servant of His Majesty, I can have no scruple of conscience in conveying you this information. As a genuine friend of yours, I earnestly wish you to succeed and win fresh laurels."

I have no doubt of the *bona fides* of D'Avera, and it is

good of him to furnish me with this bit of Court gossip; but I do not think it merits any serious and direct refutation on my part. Such utterly unfounded reports are best left to themselves to wither away like a plant without a root. I may find an occasion to show that I am aware of their existence and laugh at their absurdity; but were I to take pains to contradict them seriously, the effect probably would be just the contrary of what I wish. The contradiction would give fresh life to the rumour, and people would say, "As he is so anxious to deny it, there is some truth in the rumour."

*December 30.*—I have made several attempts to get the Chief Yunan Chinaman here, one Oo-lat-ton, to visit me; but he has been very shy and appeared only to-day at a very inconvenient moment, when I was preparing for a visit to the palace. He probably chose the time on purpose, for he was evidently unwilling to be "pumped." He says he has been so long in Mandalay that he can give no information about affairs in Yunan. He suggests, however, that the Bhamo route is not the best one for entering China, and in this probably he is not far wrong. The interests of the Mandalay Chinaman and those of Bhamo are not identical. The former prefer the shorter route going due west from Mandalay. For some reason or another the old man is not in a communicative mood, and the parting salute was evidently the most agreeable moment of the interview for him.

We go in State, riding on elephants, to the palace at 11 a.m. The King looked vigorous and in good humour. He commenced the interview by some rather fulsome praise of and compliments to myself. With his mouth encumbered with betel juice, he gave us one of his usual homilies on the advantage of friendship, taking as his text the fact that peace has existed between himself and England for twenty years. I was not to listen, he said, to the words of foolish persons. With such sentiments, of course, I was in perfect agreement. He offered me one of his royal



steamers to take me to Bhamo, which I declined with thanks.

So far as it is possible to form a true estimate of the policy of an Oriental potentate from outward appearance, the King is sincere in his desire to assist our expedition so far as it lies in his power to do so; and, notwithstanding the existence of rumours as to our ulterior objects being hostile to his own interests and those of his friend the Emperor of China, he is apparently determined to make good the assertion in his letter to the Viceroy that the failure of the last expedition was due to mutual ignorance on the part of the English and Burmese officers of each other's customs and rules of etiquette. Since our arrival in Mandalay all the usual marks of polite attention have been paid to us. The royal troupes of actors, jugglers, and tumblers have come every evening for our entertainment. A dozen silver salvers, containing fruits and confectionery, have arrived every day from the Palace kitchens for our consumption, and I hear that MM. Sutherland and Andreino have received Rs. 3,000 for the entertainment of our servants.

As we had omitted by accident to declare the revolvers of our guard, there was some little difficulty about this at first, but it was soon explained away.

They were afraid to refuse permission for us to take a guard of our own, but they were no doubt rather jealous on the subject. As a sort of counter demonstration they have been putting some heavy guns on board one of the royal steamers, commanded by a Frenchman, and they are going to send her up to Bhamo—if they can. They have been busy in the Palace practising big gun-drill on an imitation ship, which ship they have rigged up for the purpose, the results proving highly ludicrous to the Europeans who have witnessed them.

*January 1, 1875.*—I paid a return New Year's Day call on M. D'Avera. Though a typical Frenchman he does not appear to be consumed with any burning desire to return

to his own country. He sits here under his own vines, of which he is very proud, he having been the first to produce grapes here, and he appears to be attached to his Burman wife and family. His garrulity, seasoned with shrewdness, is always amusing, and sometimes interesting and instructive. Our conversation turning upon the recent French Embassy to Mandalay, he informed me that the priest, P. Lecomte, who acted as interpreter, in order to induce the Burmans to sign the treaty, mistranslated one of the clauses of the Burman version, inserting words to the effect that if the Burmans were attacked, the French "would make their case their own," so that the treaty seemed to the Burmans to be an offensive and defensive one. Of course there was nothing of the kind in the French version. A somewhat Jesuitical trick, if true! It might, if true, result in inconvenience to us, by making the King think that he can rely in all cases upon French support, but D'Avera no doubt at a convenient season will enlighten him.

*January 3.*—We make a start at length from Mandalay this morning in the s.s. *Mandalay*. The party consists of myself and five servants, including Moungh Yo, my interpreter; Dr. Anderson, and seven followers, servants and collectors of specimens; Mr. Fforde and three servants; our guard of fifteen Sikh soldiers with five followers. Total, thirty-nine persons. Mr. Ney Elias is to join us at Bhamo, where he has gone on to collect carriage. When leaving Mandalay we noticed one of the King's steamers, got up man-of-war fashion, with guns and soldiers on board, commanded by a Frenchman. They were to have followed us, but for some reason or another did not do so.

*January 9.*—What with fogs and what with sandbanks our progress has been most miserably slow. In six days we have made about twenty-five miles!

I almost regret I did not accept the offer of a royal steamer. We should then have travelled light, and might have skimmed over the sandbanks. As it is we are encumbered with a heavily-laden flat which makes it difficult

to find our way along the tortuous channel. We have anchored each night at some town or village where the authorities have invariably made great preparations for our reception. We are beginning to feel rather tired of the sempiternal operatic performances. Our stay in the capital has made us rather *blasé* and fastidious in this respect. The provincial damsels, whose charms are not enhanced by a thick coating of "Thanaka" (the Buamese equivalent for the European ladies' powder-puff), compare unfavourably with Yeng-daw-ma-lai, the Mandalay prima donna, who is really a graceful and interesting creature.

We have passed to-day through the "First Defile," where the river is confined to one narrow channel, in which the water is deep and beautifully clear, and have anchored for the night at Thengadaw. Here is that portion of the river which is frequented by the celebrated "sacred fish," who come when they are called, sit upon their tails, and open wide their capacious mouths to receive the alms which pious people give them, tumbling back ungracefully when they are satisfied. They are supposed to be of the dog or cat-fish tribe, but their species not having been exactly determined, our naturalist is burning with desire to get hold of one and find out whether it has got a Latin name; and if not to give it one. As it would not be wise to offend the religious prejudices of the Burmans by openly catching one, Dr. Anderson resorts to stratagem. He immures himself at night in the Lascars' "buen retiro" and casts his line through the hole. He had not long to wait before he secured a fine specimen, which he wrapped up in a cloth and exhibited only to a chosen few before retiring to study its conformation in the recesses of his cabin.

One of the perplexities one has to struggle with in this border land of many races is the variety of names used to designate each single person or place. A man here may be spoken of by his Burmese, Chinese, Shan, or Kakhyeng name, all quite different. I had a conversation on the subject to-day with my Yunan interpreter. His Chinese name

is Li-kantseng. Here he is known only as MOUNG YO (Mr. Honest), an appropriate name for him, as he is very straightforward and trustworthy. His case is a simple one as compared with that of his more celebrated relative, known to us as Li-tsee-tahee. He may be designated by any of the following names: Li-ssu, Li-cheng-kwo, Li-hsieh-tai, Li-ssu-ta-ye, Li-lao-mien. Li is evidently the family name. Li-ssu is said to be his "youthful" name (ssu means fourth). Li-cheng-kwo is his "young man's" name. Hsieh-tai is the name of his grade (= Colonel?). Ta-ye an abbreviation of Ta-lao-ye is an honorific title, meaning Venerable Father, and Li-lao-mien means Li the Burman. This Li is said to be now Too-tsen of Nan-teng, but expects to be promoted to Shunning foo, so we shall probably come across him.

Burmese and Shans give names of their own coining to many Chinese towns. Thus the Teng-yue-chow of the Chinese is the Momien of the Burmans, and the Shun-ning-fu of the Chinese is Shweng-leng in Burmese. Chinese cities seem to be divided into three classes: "tsen," "fu or foo," and "chow." Thus Yunan-tseng (not fu as we often call it), Shunning-fu and Teng-yue-chow.

*January 15.*—After nearly a fortnight's voyage from Mandalay we reach Bhamo to-day. The Won who seems a pleasant mild mannered man, and Captain Cooke, the Assistant Resident, come off in war boats to receive us. We land and go to stay with Cooke at the Residency, which is some little distance from the town, our baggage and followers remaining in the town. We are joined also by Ney Elias, who informs me of the arrangements he has made for our journey. There are three practicable routes between Bhamo and Momien, the northern or Pon-tsee, the central or Hotha (known also as the "Ambassador's route"), and the lower or Sawaddy route.

I learn the history of the negotiations which have led to the choice of the last by Elias.

At first both Cooke and Elias were in favour of the

central route. The most influential chief along it is one Mateng, who until recently was on very friendly terms with Cooke, but after a visit recently paid to Mandalay, where he had the dignity of a gold umbrella conferred upon him, his manners changed, and he held himself aloof from the Residency. Last month he was engaged by the Burmans to convey their own mission to Peking as far as the Chinese frontier, and he flatly refused to have anything to do with us.

So we have this Burman Embassy putting a spoke in our wheel from the very first.

Elias then turned his attention to the Sawaddy route. He went out himself two days' march, and made arrangements for carriage with Lenna, the principal Kakhyeng chief in this line. The chief has contracted to furnish us with 150 pack bullocks and take us as far as Kutlon, in the territory of the Maingmaw Tsawbwa, a tributary of China. I am to pay for the bullocks at the rate of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  tiekals of Sycee silver (about 8 rupees) for each bullock. I don't know yet whether to be pleased or not at this choice of a route. It has its advantages and disadvantages. The route is as yet unexplored, but is said to be less mountainous than the others. It has the demerit of being much the longest. One great drawback is that our "Royal Order," directing every assistance to be given to us, is addressed to the Won of Bhamo, and Sawaddy, the starting-point, is out of his jurisdiction, and within that of the Won of Shwegoo. The Won here has written to him of Shwegoo to come and discuss matters, but it would be very unlike the usual conduct of a Burman Governor if he did so without receiving orders from Mandalay.

*January 16.*—I perceive that there is a certain amount of tension between the Residency and the Burman officials on the subject of the negotiations with the Kakhyengs. Cooke and Elias, acting under instructions, have been treating with the Kakhyengs directly, and quite independently of the Burmans. This does not please the Burmans.

They have trouble enough as it is in keeping these truculent savages quiet, and preventing them from making razzias on Burman territory, and they believe that this trouble will be increased by our going behind their backs and making independent arrangements with them. The Burmans, naturally enough, I think, desire that our arrangements with the Kakhyengs should be made in harmony with, and not in opposition to, them. Such being the case, it seems to me that matters may run more smoothly if I leave the Residency and move down to the sheds which the Won has prepared for us in the town.

*January 17.*—The great event of the day is the arrival of Mr. Margary, who has been escorted from Manwaing on the frontier by a guard of forty Burmans (the forty thieves he calls them, though they do not seem to have deserved the epithet) sent up by the Bhamo Won to meet him. Mr. Margary is looking very well, and feels no ill effects from his wonderful journey across the whole breadth of China. He came up the Yang-tse-kiang as far as the Tung-teng-lake; then some distance up the Yuan river and the rest of the way by land. He is delighted with the reception he met with almost everywhere, and especially with the civility and politeness of every one in Yunan from the Viceroy downwards. This Viceroy is the man to whom anti-foreign proclivities are attributed by Mr. Wade, but nevertheless he did everything necessary to facilitate Margary's progress. He gave him two Mandarins to look after and escort him from the capital to the frontier. Though Tali-fu was off the direct route, Margary succeeded in visiting it. Some objection was made at first to his passing through this town on account of the extra-loyal and anti-rebel tendencies of its present inhabitants; but this objection he managed to overcome, and he was most hospitably received there by the Tartar-General, who sent a cordial invitation to our party to stay with him.

At Momein he was received by the General Chiang, who is renowned for the part he took in the capture of Tali-fu



and the massacre of the Panthays. At Manwaing he was met by no less a person than the much dreaded and much belied Li-hsieh-tai. As all the previous knowledge he possessed of this worthy was derived from the accounts given of him by our last expedition, Margary was not a little surprised to find that the "ruthless bandit" whom he expected to find was after all an extremely polite and intelligent Chinese officer. The truth is that the last expedition entirely failed to appreciate the fact that in opposing their communications with the rebel Panthays, Li was simply carrying out his manifest duty as a Chinese officer, and his endeavours to uphold the authority of his lawful Sovereign were qualified as "acts of brigandage." Li's title alone, if it had been understood, ought to have prevented a mistake of this kind. With this official Margary had various palavers, all more or less of the "Mutual Admiration Society" style, Li carrying his politeness so far as actually to perform the "Kotow." He further sent for the townsmen and some Kakhyeng chiefs, and solemnly adjured them to take care of Margary because he was travelling under the protection of an Imperial passport.

*To be continued.*

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

"BRITAIN'S DESTINY: GROWTH OR DECAY."

SIR,

It is hardly necessary for me to say, that the letter which appeared in the last issue of your *Review* over the initials "J. P." (see pp. 378-384) has interested me exceedingly, and it has also given me great satisfaction, for it is evident that the writer of it has been at considerable pains to make himself acquainted with the views of the late Major Phipson. But it is also evident to me, that he has suffered in the endeavour to come to a conclusion as to the soundness or otherwise of the views expressed, from the fact that he only became acquainted with them at second-hand through "Britain's Destiny," which at best merely professes to give a bare outline of them, and I am keenly alive to the fact, that many aspects of the case presented by Major Phipson in his works, are barely even indicated in the short volume I ventured to lay before the public. Whether it would have been easily possible to give a more complete outline without unduly enlarging the size of my book, keen students of the subject will decide for themselves; but as I am desirous that no point of the late Major Phipson's message to his fellow-countrymen should be lost or misunderstood through fault of mine, I venture the hope, sir, that you will extend the courtesy of your columns to me, to enable me to explain that which has not been clear to your correspondent, or has been misunderstood by him, owing, as I think, to the fact that he had not the whole case before him, as presented by the author of "The Redemption of Labour" and "The Science of Civilization" in those works.

On the question of "land nationalization," "J. P." quotes words of Major Phipson's as proving that, according to his own showing, if the State were to become universal land-

lord, it would still leave the occupier all that he is in strict justice entitled to, because he admits that the payment of a rent—even a rack-rent—does not deprive him of any product of his own labour, but only to such benefits of civilization, as have accrued up to the time of the rent being first undertaken. But I think “J. P.” has probably overlooked the importance of the words “*first undertaken.*” They imply, and Major Phipson leaves no opportunity for doubt on the point, that any raising of the rent after once fixed and first undertaken, does directly deprive the tenant of the products of his own labour.

I understand that the contention of land nationalizers is, broadly, that tenants should have fixity of tenure, subject to periodical reassessment of the ground-rents payable to the State, and that if they wish to sell their tenant-right, all they should have the right to sell, would be the added value of the land arising from their own improvements, such as buildings, drainage works, etc. This, too, would be all that should be saleable after the death of a tenant; and if from one cause or another the value of the holding had further increased beyond this, the State would be entitled to take the benefit of the further increase in the letting value of the land. The justification for the State taking the advantage of this further increased value, is held to be that such increase is “*unearned increment.*”

It becomes necessary, therefore, to consider to what causes this increase is really due, and by whose efforts it is made possible. To do this it is necessary to start from the beginning, and to understand that civilized people are separated into two absolutely distinct classes, the most important of which we may call food-producers, and the remainder we may group under the broad definition of other workers. It will no doubt be agreed, after considering the matter, that these latter, under a natural system, and where there is no compulsion, only give up their right to grow their own food because they know that, owing to some particular faculty not possessed by the

majority of their fellows, if they devote themselves to other work and let someone else grow their food for them, they will be able to live with less labour than the food-producers of their country, and in the same state of comfort, or in greater comfort if they are content to work as hard.

But before they can avail themselves of this great advantage, of being able to live with a minimum of toil, which is a proper ambition with every human being, it is necessary that they should first find food-producers, who are willing to produce a surplus of food with which to purchase their labour-products. Without such a surplus it is evident that no advance in civilization is possible, and when, therefore, roads, railways, and other evidences of civilization are spread throughout the land, it is the self-interest of the other workers of the community which leads to this being done, as it thus becomes possible for more of them to live with less expenditure of labour, than if they had to grow their own food.

They therefore enter at once into the full benefits of the advance of civilization; but not so the food-producers, whose toil for a given reward is at first much greater than theirs. But the desire among increasing numbers of the community to live with less toil, induces competition among them, which necessitates a continuous increase in the amount of the labour-products they have to give in exchange for their food. Under a *justly regulated currency system*, this represents a progressive increase in the purchasing power of his food to the food-producer, and implies a levelling up of his reward and a levelling down of the reward, of other workers. Such levelling down, however—meaning, as it does, a fall in profits—the latter strive to resist, and, necessity being the mother of invention, their efforts are directed to the discovery of improved methods of manufacture, etc., which result in the continuous cheapening of their labour-products, attended often by increased profits to themselves, and always by a continuous cheapening to the purchasers (*i.e.*, the food-producers).

It is this increase in the purchasing power of their surplus food, which really constitutes the increased rental value of the latter's land, and it is therefore self-evident that, so far from this increase being in any way an increment-uneared by themselves, it is theirs by right, in virtue of the very real "sweat of the brow" over and above that of other workers. Deprive them, then, of the right to sub-let the land at a profit rental, and land nationalizers would deprive them of the fruits of their labour, and would hand it over to the community at large, the other workers of which would already have received their reward. Until, therefore, the collectivist idea were put completely into force, and all work was done for the common benefit, the other worker would receive a twofold advantage. Far be it from me to blame land nationalizers for not having seen this. Mankind only arrives at the fundamental truths of life by steadfast search, and this search they have, I believe, disinterestedly made. Why the full truth has been hidden from them, that in a true system of renting land lies the economic salvation of labour, is hard, perhaps, for us to know, though to me it seems to be due to the fact that, unlike Major Phipson, they have narrowed their range of vision unduly.

However that may be, when once they grasp the full scope of Major Phipson's teaching, and that the evils of sub-letting absolutely disappear, when the sub-tenant has to be granted the same fixity of tenure as the tenant enjoyed, I am hopeful that they will adopt his teaching as their own. I think the battle he started to fight will then be as good as won. For when landlords understand that, instead of receiving decreasing rents, the purchasing power of their fixed rent must steadily increase, self-interest will step in to range them on the side of labour, which in turn, seeing that it will at last become free, by having the power to grow its own food when adequate wages are unobtainable, because to *rent* land is within its power, will cease to desire the right to *buy* land, for which it does not possess the capital.

"J. P." will probably now see why Major Phipson contends that the confiscation of the "unearned increment" would prevent the free multiplication of purchasers; for he classes food-producers only as purchasers, and if they are habitually deprived of the fruits of their own labour, they will remain more or less poverty-stricken, their purchasing power will be curtailed, and the inducement to remain food-producers will be diminished. For the effect to them of such confiscation is the same, whether it is borne by landlords for their own benefit, or by the State for the benefit of the community. It will also be apparent that the change from "land-owning by lords" to that of "land-holding (*i.e.*, renting) by tenants" will promote the free multiplication of purchasers, because the wants of two men for the necessities of life are greater than those of one man, and the increasing purchasing power of food under such a system, would be divided among an ever-growing number of the people, to the benefit of all, instead of being concentrated in the hands of a few, as at present. It must be borne in mind, that the necessary alteration in our land system, can only be achieved by the adoption of a currency that shall be valueless in itself, and the recollection of this required change is needed during the consideration of the whole of this letter.

As regards the note on p. 382, which suggests that, when I say "the German Bank would (naturally) prefer gold in bars," I seem to contradict Major Phipson's statement as to "the competition of foreign food-producers for gold—*i.e.*, for the British food-tokens," I would remind "J. P." that bar-gold is the raw material of the British currency. The following quotation from the money article of the *Standard* of October 17 will serve to show that the effect of foreign competition for this raw material, is just as great as that competition would be, if it were for British coin:

"Three months' bills were not taken below 4 per cent., and in some quarters there was a disinclination to take



them on those terms, the idea being that a rise in the Bank-rate was at hand. This, however, was by no means the general view, the fact that the Bank was making efforts to secure the *bar-gold* available in the open market being considered—and rightly, we believe—as an indication that, while alive to the necessity of protecting its reserve, the directors are by no means desirous of imposing a 5 per cent. rate upon the market, unless such action should become necessary. When it was known, later in the day, that about £250,000 in *bar-gold* had been secured by the Bank, a better feeling was apparent. . . .”

A careful perusal of pp. 86-98 of “*Britain's Destiny*” will, I think, serve to show why it is that the competition of foreign food-producers for the British food-token, has had a disastrous effect on the British farmer. I will only state briefly here, therefore, that the inflation of the British currency prior to 1873 caused the rent and other burthens placed upon the land to be high, thus leaving the British farmer unable to bear the fall in price of his food-products to their gold-bullion level, which followed the foreign adoption of the British legal standard.

“For the debts of British farmers are now determined by one scale of prices, that of the inflated home currency; but their means of paying these debts by another, that of bullion prices in the poorest gold-using countries” (*cf.* “*Science of Civilization*,” p. 287).

It will thus be seen, I think, that the effect of this competition would have been very real, quite apart from the competition of silver-using countries; and what I said at the commencement of this letter—that many aspects of the case have been barely indicated in “*Britain's Destiny*”—applies with great force when the question of the effect of the competition of India, a silver-using country, is under consideration. Could your correspondent have read pp. 65-92 of “*The Science of Civilization*,” dealing with “*Exchange*,” and Book VII., vol. ii., of “*The Redemption of Labour*,” on “*Commerce*,” and especially chapter iii.,

"Foreign Exchanges through Dissimilar Currencies—Exchanges with India," much would have been clear to him that it will be impossible for me to explain adequately in the limits of a letter, as the subject is exceedingly complicated.

To put it, however, as briefly as I am able, it must be borne in mind that, under a natural system, foreign trade consists of the barter of goods for goods, and implies a division of the profits of the export and import trade, between the exporter and importer, in varying proportions, that are regulated by the rate of exchange. Under a system based solely on "Exchange," unless exports have been made no imports are possible, and unless imports are made the exporter cannot realize any profit on his exports, neither can he receive payment for them; and it is impossible for either exporter or importer, to permanently retain the whole of the profits resulting from the combined transactions. Take, for instance, the case of wheat imported from India. So long as the trade is conducted by means of exchange, as the importer of Indian wheat would have to pay Indian currency for it, he would be under the necessity of finding an exporter, who had Indian currency owing to him for goods exported to India. The importer would then purchase with British currency the exporter's rupee draft, drawn on those to whom the goods had been shipped, and would remit the draft to his correspondent in India. Unless he paid a sufficient price in British currency to leave the exporter an adequate margin of profit, the latter would cease exporting, while the exporter in turn would have to part with his rupee draft, at a price that would leave an adequate margin of profit to the importer, or the latter would cease to import.

But for various reasons, the causes for which I need not enter into, India is willing to receive silver in place of British manufactures. The importer of Indian goods into Great Britain, is therefore relieved of the necessity of finding an exporter who has a draft on India to sell. Instead, he can purchase silver bullion abroad, and ship it to

India in payment for the import, if this proves a cheaper way of remitting the equivalent of rupees to India, than by the purchase of a rupee draft.

If Great Britain had a currency valueless in itself, the possession of this option would be rendered comparatively, though not entirely, harmless, as, even if the silver-producing country elected to be paid in gold, British export merchants would have ultimately to export British labour-products to the gold-producing country, in order to purchase the gold. This latter having, in that case, no relation to the British food-token, the transaction would have no effect on British prices, and would in no way affect the food-producer, while the export of manufactures would give work to the wage-earners of the country, thus enabling them to pay for the foreign food they required. The operation would therefore resolve itself into an exchange of British manufactures for Indian wheat.

But under a gold currency, now become international, the payment by Great Britain in gold for the silver required to be sent to India, results in the contraction of the British currency, which lowers the prices received by the farmer, and increases the burden of his debts. It correspondingly reduces the price in gold of all imports, and, by curtailing the demand for exporters' drafts, and therefore also the volume of exports, makes it less possible for the wage-earners of the country to purchase the imports. But "just in proportion to the influx of silver into India is the rise or fall in the general level of all Indian prices. So that whatever an English importer saves in gold-currency tokens when buying silver bullion instead of an exporter's draft, he loses in Indian produce through the reduced purchasing power attaching to his newly-coined rupee tokens in India. Though he gives less gold, therefore, he receives less goods, and these he finds it harder to sell at home, because to the same extent as silver was bought for export in place of home manufactures, has the purchasing power of the British community been reduced.

"Vain is it, then, for the importer to strive to escape from the fundamental law of his being—that of complete dependence upon the exporter, while his useless struggles to this end can but result, if prolonged, in common disaster to all" (*cf.* "Redemption of Labour," vol. ii., pp. 559-562).

How complete this disaster is likely to be will, I think, be realized when it is considered, that if the importer pays India in silver he buys that silver with gold. How, then, seeing that the stock of gold held in this country is already dangerously slender, is that stock to be replenished? The natural answer would be, "By exporting manufactures to gold-producing countries." But this leaves out of account the important factor that if the material of which the currency of two countries is composed is the same its purchasing power will be greater in the poor country than in the wealthy one. From this it follows that, as countries with gold currencies and that are poorer than our own, increase their capacity to supply the manufactures required by the world, they must inevitably be able to undersell our manufacturers when both quote in gold. It must, therefore, become more and more impossible for us to obtain gold in exchange for our manufactures. But the failure to do so implies the failure of the wage-earners of this country to obtain work, and therefore to obtain food, unless they are able to rent land under the conditions considered at the commencement of this letter. But to obtain those conditions it is necessary for the country to adopt a currency valueless in itself—*i.e.*, a national currency in place of our present gold currency, which is international. It is therefore evident that, alike in the interests of wage-earners, merchants, food-producers, and landowners, this change in our currency system is imperatively demanded.

I hope it will now be clear to "J. P." that, so far from not seeing that the remedy is for the people to go back to the land, the whole aim of Major Phipson's life's work was to show his countrymen how this could be done, not by philanthropic efforts, highly though he would have valued

these as exemplifying the noble doctrine of "giving without getting," but by the natural working of economic forces, when once the system was brought into harmony with them. Contrast the broad and firm outlines in which he has shown how social and commercial problems react on each other, and can only be solved by being taken in hand together, with the bewilderment of our statesmen and philanthropists, as evidenced by their vain struggles to alleviate the all too evident distress by dealing with it in compartments, and surely every thoughtful person must ask if, perhaps, after all this comparatively unknown man may not have grasped moral and economic truths which have been missed by the countless millions who, like him, have lived and died. And to stop and ask one's self this question must be to determine that the matter shall be sifted to the very dregs, unless, like Israel, "seeing we will not see, and hearing we will not understand."

Your correspondent is no doubt absolutely correct in saying that "before 1870 an English sovereign was always freely negotiable abroad at its full intrinsic value," but until gold became international currency it was chiefly negotiable in the same way that a Bank of England note is to-day—not, that is, to be retained abroad, but to be remitted to Great Britain to pay off foreign indebtedness, though no doubt a certain (but relatively small) amount was retained for use in the Arts, etc.

The remarks about the effect of the opening of the Suez Canal accurately sum up the situation *with gold international currency*, as it became about the same time. But had the nation possessed a valueless currency, a careful consideration of the facts set out in "Britain's Destiny," backed up by reference to Phipson's books themselves if necessary, will show that the British farmer would not have been in competition with either the cheap labour of the East, or the cheap land of the West. For it would be the duty of the Government to regulate the issue of such a currency, so that on an average of years it represented

wheat at a given price—say, for argument, 30s. per quarter. Having done so, merchants would automatically regulate the price in their endeavour to earn the maximum of profit, so that when wheat was scarce and consequently rose above 30s., they would strive to import it, whereas when plentiful and the price fell below 30s., they would cease importing it, and would import raw materials or manufactured articles instead.

It is undoubtedly true that rents have fallen, but let "J. P." consider for a moment, and I think he will realize that the fall may have been at the expense of untold suffering. For how often has it failed to take effect until the original tenant has been drained of all his capital, and the land, left derelict for a time, has at last to be let for a lower rent. And that "even now it is often more profitable to turn land into deer-forests than wheat-fields" is the most crushing condemnation of our entire system that it is possible to utter, for in it the whole of the wrong is summed up. It conjures up the vision of that depopulation of the countryside and the fell poverty of our towns that is fast ruining our nation body and soul, which the turning of our native land into a playground for America and the rising West, could surely only accelerate. But I prefer to believe that his sympathy with Major Phipson's attack on factory work for women, and his appreciation of the benefits of fixity of tenure, as they appear in the case of the Bengal tenant, more correctly indicate his attitude of mind than do his last sentences, and I am hopeful that further study of Major Phipson's teaching may lead him to work heart and soul with the small handful of us who are striving feebly, but as best we may, to convince our fellow-countrymen of the things that belong to Britain's peace, ere it may be too late.

I am, etc.,

MARK B. F. MAJOR.

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## INDIAN REVENUE AND LAND SYSTEMS.

SIR,

I am sorry to take up your space and the time of your readers with a dispute, but General Fischer's charge that I had "resorted to the common artifice of misrepresentation in order to confute him" on a plain question of fact is so offensive that I beg to be allowed to state the facts as they appear to me.

In criticising his paper on "Indian Revenue and Land Systems" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1903) I pointed out (p. 181 of the *Review* for July), amongst other things which appeared to me to be mistakes, the fact that he quoted the Viceroy (Lord Curzon) as saying that "it is impossible to find water enough in the whole of India for more than 20 million acres of land." This statement I quoted word for word from p. 261 of this *Review* for October, 1903. Now, however, General Fischer, passing lightly over this page of his paper, says that he was referring to the calculation of Sir A. Binnie that there was water enough in the Godavery basin to irrigate 20 million acres of land. But this statement occurs on p. 262, and has obviously no connection whatever with the statement I referred to. I must say that this explanation seems to involve a far more serious misstatement of fact than any I noticed in his previous paper. When he goes on to say that such deliberate misrepresentation is a very usual practice amongst Cutcherry Brahmins, he goes out of his way to insult a body of men who are often most deserving, in order, I suppose, to create the impression that I, having been brought up in such an atmosphere of deceit and trickery, am naturally tarred with the same brush.

As it would appear from what (on p. 256 of the *Review* for October, 1903) is apparently a reference to the papers "regarding the land revenue system of British India," and the resolution thereon dated January 16, 1902, that he has already examined those papers "through and through," it is, I suppose, useless to suggest that he should

read the "Proceedings" of the Madras Board of Revenue embodied in those papers, and equally useless for me to repeat their arguments for his benefit—even if you could find room for them. I will merely make a few very brief remarks on some other points in which he takes exception to my former criticism.

As I was only concerned with General Fischer's reflections on the Madras revenue system, it was not necessary for me to discuss the ideas of Adam Smith, Hallam, or Mill; and when I suggested that he should read Seshiah Shastri's memorandum on the evils of the sharing system\* it was only because I understood him to recommend us to revert to that system, as, indeed, he still does. From his question at the end of the first paragraph on p. 373 it would seem that he imagines we measure the ryots' crops every year; if so, it certainly seems hopeless to discuss the question with him.

He seems satisfied that in Madras we still follow "the old Indian custom of extracting all we possibly can from the people and leaving their industries to starve," because Mr. Rogers says he "once heard one Madras civilian say to another" that the Brahmins would not allow him to reduce the rates of assessment. It does not appear *when* Mr. Rogers heard this curious confession, but I doubt if even he would consider it sufficient evidence to prove that the land was generally over-assessed, even if General Fischer had not himself assured us that the rate of assessment levied by the British Government was moderate (see bottom of p. 252 of the *Review* for October, 1903).

He tries to show a contradiction between the body of my letter and the postscript as to the practice of over-assessment, but so far as his original paper is concerned there is no contradiction at all. "The baneful practice of over-assessment" to which I referred in my postscript is of

\* I never said Seshiah was an authority on economics, but I do say that he knew a great deal more about the evils of the Amāni system than Adam Smith, Hallam, and Mill all put together.

quite recent date, at the revision of the first settlements, whilst it is evident that General Fischer's strictures applied to our system for the last fifty years at least. Moreover, I explained in my last letter to what special causes such enhancement was due.

Then he says that by Joseph's law this baneful practice would be entirely avoided; but, as already observed, to collect 20 *per cent. of the gross produce every year* would probably double the burden on the ryot.

He is good enough to recommend me to read certain books on road-making, and says that in India no such thing as a good road has ever existed (as if I was responsible), and that even now the people do not know how to construct a road properly. Now, road-making has never been my special business, but one may well ask, What has General Fischer been doing all his life, that he has failed to teach his subordinates how to make a single road? On this point, however, I may safely leave him to Mr. Hughes (see p. 25 *et seq.* of the current number).

Having been for three years collector of Trichinopoly, and for three years in a similar capacity at Tanjore, it would be almost a miracle if I knew nothing of Sir Arthur Cotton's work, for which no one, not even General Fischer himself, has a greater admiration.

Lastly, with reference to his parting shot, I may just add that my object in writing my first paper was not to discuss "The Wealth of Nations" (with which, indeed, I have no fault to find), but his curious mistakes—I might almost say delusions—about the land revenue system of Madras.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

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#### ROADS IN TRAVANCORE.

SIR,

I send you below a copy of a letter which appears in the *Madras Mail* of October 3, 1905, and which shows very clearly, in a purely native Government, how little is

known in this country of the two possible methods by which alone the products of the earth can be enhanced both in quantity and value, and how right Adam Smith is in saying that "the cross roads" of any country are of the utmost utility to the community in general :

"ROADS IN TRAVANCORE.

"SIR,

"The inauguration of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly marks, indeed, a new epoch in the history of Travancore, and it reflects greatly to the credit of Mr. Madhava Rao that this year he has established the Assembly on an electoral basis by giving the people freedom to elect their own representatives. There is no doubt that the future of the Assembly would to a great extent depend upon the amount of care and discretion which the members of the Assembly display in giving expression to public opinion. There is, however, one thing which might be brought to their notice, and the importance of which they cannot safely overlook—viz., the development of the economic resources of the country. Everyone acquainted with the different parts of Travancore can understand that the midland parts of the country and those adjoining the high range abound with peasant cultivators, whose toil and industry have rendered these bleak plains rich with the luxuriant vegetation of different kinds of crops. *But the one pressing difficulty under which the peasant cultivator as well as the ordinary traveller labours is the want of proper facilities for inter-territorial communication.* As a result of this, it is well-nigh difficult for the ordinary cultivators to convey their agricultural products to the different marts in the country to get them exchanged for other useful articles for them. *The few village roads* that are now to be seen in the country might have been constructed out of charity by some bygone petty chiefs ; but these roads have all the characteristics of their antique construction. Bounded on either side by jungles, which are the abode of poisonous snakes, passing

through several canals and ferries difficult to cross over, and so narrow as to render it absolutely impossible for a cart to be drawn by a pair of bullocks, *these village roads are useless* both for the peasant cultivator and for the traveller. 'But the condition of the roads that pass through the hilly parts of the country is still worse.' These narrow paths change their course every year according as the fancy or the convenience of the landowners through whose land they pass suggests itself to them. In the interest of the development of the internal resources of the country, it becomes, therefore, highly necessary that Government takes in hand this question of intercommunication in the country, and it may be hoped that this year the members of the Popular Assembly will draw the attention of Government to this all important question.

"A. TRAVANCORE."

"PUDUPET,

"October 2."

Travancore has never been under British rule, and the Brahmins have had everything their own way in that district in all ages; its climate is good and the rainfall abundant, yet, with all these advantages, it has never entered into the head of the native administrations to afford the lands those means by which *alone* the agricultural industry can be profitably developed, and then we are told, *ad nauseam*, that the Government of this territory is a "model one" for all India! So far as I remember, Sir A. Seshiah Shastri was at one time the Dewan of this province; if so, perhaps Mr. Pennington will be able to explain whether his Amáni system was originated in Travancore, "by which the crop is actually divided," but no means have been provided for realizing its full value in the markets of the world. Any assessment raised on lands in such a condition must be a most burdensome tax, quite enough to prevent all progress and to keep the population in a chronic state of poverty, whilst the Government riots

in luxury on such means as they can screw out of the people.

Adam Smith says in "The Wealth of Nations," Book I., chap. vi.: "But the whole price of any commodity *must* still, finally, resolve itself into some one or other or all of those three parts, as whatever part of it remains after paying *the rent* of the land, and the price of the whole labour (*wages*) employed in raising, manufacturing, *and bringing it to market*, *must necessarily be profit* to somebody." If, then, the cost of transport is reduced to a minimum, the outlay in wages and in stock for conveying products to market will be reduced in proportion; the profits will then be enhanced in an equal degree, and the land will be enabled to pay, out of profits, *a higher rent or assessment*; for if the cultivator is provided with the best means of securing the best prices for his produce *at the right time* in all markets *it is for his interest* to pay the highest rent the land will bear, and we shall hear no more of "the harmful practice of over-assessment," which Mr. Pennington so feelingly deprecates.

J. F. FISCHER,

General, R.E.

BANGALORE, October 20, 1905.

#### SOUTHERN NIGERIA.

Mr. Egerton, the High Commissioner, on July 16, 1905, reports from Lagos as follows\* :

The Protectorate has no debt, and at the end of the financial year 1903-1904 had a credit balance of over £145,000, which has been considerably increased (by nearly £40,000) during the financial year 1904-1905.

The history of the Protectorate is unique both for Africa and for other portions of the British Empire. Throughout the whole of the territory now under our control settled Government has only been established by means of a show

\* See Parliamentary Reports, September, 1905 (Cd. 2684-5).



of military force, and yet the whole cost of introducing and maintaining law and order—involving the maintenance of a large military establishment—has been defrayed from the local revenues without incurring any debt. As each year a larger area has been pacified, a proper system of justice established, free trade between town and town and with the coast rendered possible, the increasing revenue has enabled a further area to be similarly dealt with in the succeeding year. In addition to this, large sums have been annually contributed towards the cost of the administration of Northern Nigeria.

Commercial imports, excluding specie, 1903, £866,132; 1904, £1,088,563. Commercial exports, excluding specie, 1903, £1,431,984; 1904, £1,718,717. Total, 1903, £2,298,116; 1904, £2,807,280.

The British Cotton-Growing Association's experiment on the Sobo Plains proved a failure, but they have now undertaken smaller plantations, in the drier climate of the interior, in the Uromi country and at Onitsha, where there are much better prospects of success than in the damp Niger delta. At the latter place the Government plantations of this product have yielded exceedingly good crops of cotton.

The chief points in the history of the Protectorate during the year 1904 to which the High Commissioner invites attention are:

(a) The continued increase in the trade and revenue, which enabled a sum of no less than £93,000 to be devoted to extraordinary public works, and also the payment of a largely increased contribution of £50,000 towards the cost of the administration of Northern Nigeria. (b) The Forestry Department is now fully organized and capable of exercising an efficient control over timber-cutting and, in a lesser degree, over the proper tapping of rubber-bearing plants. (c) Many articles used in trade, building, education, transport, etc., have been placed on the free list and exempted from Customs duties. Large permanent buildings have been erected for residential schools at Calabar and

Bonny, and more Government schools have been opened in the interior. The first Government schools for girls have been established at Warri and Sapele. The chief difficulty in extending educational work is the scarcity of teachers. (d) The first land telegraph-lines were opened during the year, and have proved of very great use both to the Government and the public, although interruptions on some sections have been unduly frequent. The rate charged for messages is only one penny a word, with the minimum charge of one shilling. This is not remunerative, but the low charge is expected to develop traffic, and the lines have been constructed more with a view to helping efficient administration and as a convenience for the commercial community than as revenue-producing factors. (e) The construction of properly-formed cart roads, with no gradients exceeding 1 in 20, has been commenced, and a Road Construction Department organized. (f) The civil police force has been largely increased, and has replaced the military at many stations. (g) The mineralogical survey of the Protectorate has been well started, and several valuable results obtained, but the interior portions as yet unexplored are more likely to yield remunerative results. (h) Surveys for a more accurate map of the Protectorate have made satisfactory progress. (i) Works designed to improve the sanitation of all the stations where Europeans reside have been continued with most satisfactory results.

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#### RECENT AGREEMENT—ENGLAND AND JAPAN.

The following is the text of the recent agreement between England and Japan :\*

PREAMBLE.—The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, being desirous of replacing the agreement concluded between them on January 30, 1902, by fresh stipulations, have agreed upon the following articles, which have for their object :

\* Parliamentary Paper, September, 1905 (Japan, No. 2, 1905).

(a) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India ;

(b) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China ;

(c) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the high contracting parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions.

ARTICLE I.—It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests.

ARTICLE II.—If by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any other Power or Powers either contracting party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this agreement, the other contracting party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

ARTICLE III.—Japan possessing paramount political, military, and economic interests in Corea, Great Britain recognises the right of Japan to take such measures of guidance, control, and protection in Corea as she may deem proper and necessary to safeguard and advance those interests, provided always that such measures are not contrary to the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations.

ARTICLE IV.—Great Britain having a special interest in all that concerns the security of the Indian frontier, Japan recognises her right to take such measures in the proximity

of that frontier as she may find necessary for safeguarding her Indian possessions.

ARTICLE V.—The high contracting parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the objects described in the preamble of this agreement.

ARTICLE VI.—As regards the present war between Japan and Russia, Great Britain will continue to maintain strict neutrality unless some other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against Japan, in which case Great Britain will come to the assistance of Japan, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with Japan.

ARTICLE VII.—The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either Power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be arranged by the naval and military authorities of the contracting parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest.

ARTICLE VIII.—The present agreement shall, subject to the provisions of Article VI., come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for ten years from that date.

In case neither of the high contracting parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said ten years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the high contracting parties shall have denounced it. But if, when the date for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded.

In faith whereof the undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this agreement, and have fixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at London, the 12th day of August, 1905.

(L.S.) LANSDOWNE,  
*His Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary  
of State for Foreign Affairs.*

(L.S.) TADASU HAYASHI,  
*Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan at the Court of St. James.*

Signed at London, 12 August, 1905.

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THE SIAM SOCIETY.

We rejoice to see that a Siam<sup>s</sup> Society has been recently founded (1904). Its objects are to investigate and encourage arts, science, and literature in relation to Siam and the neighbouring countries. The patron is the Crown Prince of Siam, and the vice-patron is Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Minister of the Interior. The council consists of presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries, librarian, and others, among whom is our esteemed contributor, Colonel Gerini, as a vice-president.

In order to carry out the objects of this Society, meetings are to be convened from time to time for the reading of papers bearing on its objects. It is also proposed to form a library of books and MSS. and an ethnological museum. If possible a *Journal* will be published every six months, containing a report of the proceedings, including the papers that may be read.

We have received Parts I. and II. of the *Journal*, dated Bangkok, 1904, the agents in London being Luzac and Co., Oriental Publishers, Great Russell Street, W.C. Amongst the papers in the *Journal* is a "History of the Foundation of Ayuthia," by Prince Damrong; "Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions," by Colonel Gerini; "Notes Laotiennes," by Pierre Morin; "On the Menam Man and the Provinces in the East," by Phya Praja Kitkarachakr;

"King Mongkut," by O. Frankfurter, Ph.D. We hope that this Society will be liberally supported and highly successful.

For further particulars application should be made to Dr. Frankfurter, Bangkok.

#### STATE OF KELANTAN, SIAM.

In our issue of July last year we made special reference to the first report of Mr. W. A. Graham, H.M.'s Resident and Adviser on the State of Kelantan, Siamese Malay States. We also noted the various steps which led to the agreement of 1902 whereby this arrangement took place. We also mentioned that that report covered the critical period whereby the old form of government was changed so as to give place to a new order of things.

The second report by Mr. Graham has just reached us, for the period August 1, 1904, to May 31, 1905. Mr. Graham says: "A remarkable feature of this period is the rapid and almost un hoped-for improvement in the general behaviour of the uncles of H.H. the Raja, whose attitude of aloofness and suspicion at the beginning constituted the only grave danger to the State. These gentlemen, having all been provided with appointments as chiefs of different departments of Government, appointments which have not been allowed to become sinecures, have shown surprising interest in the work entrusted to them, and it is satisfactory to record that they have now all come forward and intimated their desire to receive the salaries and pensions allotted to them last year from the State Treasury, but at that time rejected with scorn, and to surrender the vague and determinate rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed, in return for the legitimate authority vested in each by H.H. the Raja for his own particular sphere."

In Mr. Graham's previous report, and referred to by us on p. 186 of our July number, 1905, as to the operations



and claims of the Duff Development Company, a new arrangement has been agreed upon. "By the old document certain rights were claimed by the company, by inference or by interpretation, which practically excluded one-third of the area of the State from the operations of the newly-formed administration, and these rights being disputed, considerable friction resulted. The new document is the outcome of a compromise, whereby the company relinquishes its so-called rights in return for material reduction of revenue ; and though it is probable that the Government could, by merely prolonging the former situation, have ultimately resumed the disputed rights without the payment of a price, yet, in view of the fact that such prolongation might have proved the financial ruin of the company, while it must infallibly have delayed the development of administration, it is, perhaps, a matter for satisfaction that the new agreement has been signed, and the position of the company, as a purely commercial concern, is definitely settled."

The financial outlook, though still far from reassuring, has improved. "The introduction of a certain amount of law and order has curtailed the depredations of the nobility upon the revenues of the State. Consequently the revenue shows a tendency to flow into the treasury more than formerly, which tendency has been further increased by the passing of various fiscal laws, providing for better assessment and collection of the taxes. The suppression of certain monopolies has also had good financial effect, both as regards trade and revenue." A law called the Port and Customs Regulation has been recently passed, by which a new Government Department has been established, which is likely to prove successful. The interior administrations of subdivisions of the State are progressing, as well as the organization of police arrangements and the promotion of public works.

The population is estimated at 300,000, consisting of Malays, Siamese, and Chinese. The education of the

youth has hitherto been much neglected, but an attempt is being made to erect schools and to organize an educational scheme. Mr. Graham's excellent report exhibits statistics of imports and exports and various other interesting information in regard to industries and climate; for instance, the mean temperature has not exceeded  $74^{\circ}$ , and has not been lower than  $69^{\circ}$ .

#### THE FUTURE OF THE HINDUSTĀNĪ LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

SIR,

As I was unable to be present at the reading of Shaikh Abdu l Qādir's most interesting paper,\* with a copy of which I was favoured, may I ask you to give space in your journal to the following lines?

With reference to the employment of the term "Hindustānī" in supersession of "Urdū" and "Hindī," I would remark that, although it is of European origin, it was adopted by Mīr Amman himself in his preface to the Bāghobahār, so that there is literary authority for its use in reference to prose composition of a hundred years' standing.

I have myself made a point of using the word in preference to "Urdū" or "Hindī" ever since the squabble over the language question which arose in 1882, when the provincial committee for the North-West Provinces and Oudh (of which I was a member) were taking evidence for the Education Commission. The respective merits of Urdū and Hindī were being discussed at that time with considerable warmth, but it became apparent from the statements on both sides that there was no quarrel about the *spoken* language of the country, which was called by no less an authority than Rājā the Honourable Shiva Prasād, C.S.I. ("Hindustānī" (*i.e.*, the language of Hindustān). The sole point at issue was whether that language should be *written* in the Persian or in the Nāgari character. As to the spread of the language, Rājā Shiva Prasād stated:

\* See this *Review* for July, 1905, pp. 65-80.

"I have not met a single man from Kashmír down to Gangá Ságar and the banks of the Narbadá who found any difficulty in understanding my vernacular, which is talked in the courts and in the bázárs of the cities and towns." Another witness before the committee defined "Hindustāni" as "simple Urdú without big Arabic and Persian words, and which has Hindí as its basis." This definition is quite in consonance with the excellent advice given, I think, by Háli to youthful aspirants for literary fame. He said that although rejecting the use of foreign words altogether was like trying to drive a cart over rough places without the aid of bullocks, yet to begin writing Urdú without a thorough knowledge of the Hindí elements of the language was like trying to move a cart without wheels. In 1902, however, a short story was published at Patna by Pandit Ajudhya Singh Upádhyā which contains neither Persian nor Arabic nor Sanskrit words, and is yet extremely readable. Some years ago I made an abstract of the vocabulary of the *Mirātu l'Arús*, and found that, out of 2,700 words occurring in the story, 1,222 were of pure Indian origin, 541 of pure Persian origin, 910 Arabic, and 27 of other languages (Turkish, English, Portuguese, etc.). Of course the words of Indian origin include many which recur over and over again, while many of the Arabic words are proper names, or words used once or twice only.

One advantage of using the term "Hindustāni" is that it can be made to include the whole of the modern literature of Hindustán from its very beginning—that is to say, from the time when the country freed itself from the domination of Sanskrit and the debasing tradition that priests alone enjoyed the privilege of reading and writing. The historical accounts of "Urdú" deal only with an episode in the main history of the modern language. They take as their starting-point the poems of Walí, although it is obvious that Walí did not invent a language which he used with such fluency. There are numbers and numbers of current idiomatic expressions which can be traced in the literature

of a date far anterior to Walí. Nor was Walí by any means the first Musalmán who wrote in the language of his adopted country. It is said—I believe on the authority of Amír Khusrau—that a *díwán* in Hindí was composed by one Khwāja Mas‘úd, who died 1131 A.D. (525 A.H.). The *Padumáwati* of Malik Muhammad Jáyasi, written in 1540 A.D., is now being edited by Dr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E. And contemporary with Malik Muhammad there was a poet named Nasrati, who wrote a heroic poem in Hindí, describing the wars of Sultán ‘Alí ‘Adil Sháh of Bījápúr. Surely no name for the literature of Hindustán should be adopted which would exclude the works of these and other Musalmán authors. On the other hand, if “Hindustāni” be accepted as a general term, including the whole of the modern language and its literature, we shall still be free to use the word “Hindí” to describe that portion of it which is rooted in the history of the country, and which gives stability, energy, and strength to the existing speech. Nor need we abandon the term “Urdú” when speaking of the long line of poets from Mír and Šaudá to Amír Míráí and Dágh, who have so greatly influenced the literary taste, and to whom the beauty and fluency and perspicuity of the existing language is so greatly due.

I would like further to express my absolute concurrence in the views expressed by the lecturer in the last four paragraphs of his paper. As for the attitude of the Government to Oriental studies, it is a matter of notoriety. Nothing more bitter could be said about it than has been said by Professor Browne in the introductory chapter of “A Year amongst the Persians.” It is also a matter of notoriety that the Europeans of all classes who now choose India for the scene of their life’s work are far less conversant with the languages of the people than those who used to seek an Indian career under the auspices of the East India Company. The fault is not wholly theirs. When once they have arrived in India, their whole time is at the disposal of the Government, and so great is the pressure of work that they

have no leisure for study. During their year of preparation for Indian life, the attention they can give to the languages is crushed by the number of other subjects they have to learn, which carry more weight in the examination. What they do learn is learnt by rote for a time, with the firmest determination that it shall be consigned to eternal obliviscence as soon as the examination is over. How can it be otherwise, when it is nobody's business in England to make the study as easy and attractive for them as possible?

Teaching is an art which is only acquired by practice after years of experience. The provision of good textbooks in any branch of study must be the result of much patient labour by specially trained intellects. In respect of Hindustáni, the whole business has been practically left to amateurs, and the only great Hindustáni scholar of English birth who might have rivalled the fame of Garcin de Tassy, if placed in a professorial chair, was fain to work for his living under the cold shadow of neglect as a teacher of elementary Persian.

Of one thing I am convinced, that until Hindustáni is recognised in England as the language of a civilized people having at least as great a claim to attention and respect at the seats of learning as the language of any other civilized country, there is no hope that a more extensive knowledge of it will be cultivated by Europeans in India. Nor can it be expected that Hindustáni emigrants to the colonies will be treated with any greater consideration than they are at present, so long as the parent country ignores the fact that they belong to a civilized and highly-cultivated nation. I do not think there is any question more worthy of engaging the attention of the East India Association than that of providing some organization for familiarizing the British public with the modern languages of India, of which, undoubtedly, Hindustáni is the chief.

G. E. WARD.

THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN ON PLANTATIONS IN  
INDIA AND CEYLON.

It is satisfactory to record that a start has been made by the Government of India in connection with the provision of some facilities for the education of children employed on plantations.

The following despatch from the Officiating Secretary to the Bengal Government shows what steps are being taken in this matter in that Province :

"With reference to the Government of India's letter, No. 693, dated August 17, 1904, I am directed to submit the following report regarding the arrangements that have been made to provide for the education of the children of labourers employed in tea and other plantations in this province.

"2. The Commissioner of Chota Nagpur reports that the tea-gardens in that division are small, generally unimportant, and in a decadent condition ; that two of the largest of them have established lower primary schools on their own account, and that there are lower primary schools within easy reach of the others. In these circumstances the Lieutenant-Governor does not think that any special arrangements are necessary in so far as this division is concerned.

"3. The Commissioner of the Chittagong division reports that there is a primary school on one estate ; that on one or two more the children are encouraged to attend the neighbouring primary schools ; but that the owners and managers of other plantations are unwilling that the children of their labourers should receive education, as this, in their opinion, would unfit them for the work which their fathers are doing. The Commissioner thinks, however, that by his own and the District Officers' personal influence he will be able to induce most of the planters of the larger gardens to establish half-time or night-schools on their estates. As regards the smaller plantations, a school has been established in the Chittagong municipality, which the



children of the neighbouring gardens will be able to attend. The District Officer of Chittagong has also promised to ascertain whether some of the existing schools cannot be moved nearer to those tea-plantations which cannot maintain schools for themselves.

"4. In the Rajshahi division, owing to the existence of primary and mission-schools in various parts, of the Darjeeling district, the state of affairs is more promising in the hills than in the Duars. In order to effect an improvement in the latter, the Lieutenant-Governor has now sanctioned the establishment of primary schools in ten selected gardens, and has also made a grant of Rs. 1,000 to supplement a contribution of Rs. 700 from the District Board of Jalpaiguri for their maintenance. Private tuition is at present provided in thirty-two gardens in the Duars.

"5. I am further to add that the whole subject has been discussed by the Committee appointed by his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to consider the question of revised courses for rural primary schools. The Committee were of opinion that the new courses proposed for rural primary schools would, if adopted, meet the case of primary schools in the tea estates; and they recommended that, pending the introduction of these, Commissioners and Collectors might do much in the direction of encouraging education amongst tea-garden labourers by adopting simple courses of instruction in consultation with the Director of Public Instruction. The Lieutenant-Governor has accepted these views, and instructions have been issued accordingly.

"(Signed) H. W. C. CARNDUFF."

In Assam, unfortunately, where out of 250,000 children only 700 attend school, the whole question is to be postponed for a year. The delay may be connected with the difficulties attending the partition of Bengal. It is inconceivable that the reform would be opposed by the planters, if the question were put before them by the officials in a conciliatory manner.

In Ceylon, as is pointed out by Mr. A. G. H. Wise, who has actively pressed this question on the attention of Mr. Brodrick and Mr. Lyttelton, we have as yet nothing definite to announce, as the Report of the Government Commission on the subject has not yet been published. It is rumoured, however, that the Commissioners recommend compulsory education throughout the island. There is no doubt that much room for improvement exists in the educational system of Ceylon; and all true friends of progress would welcome such a change, which could not fail to be of benefit to the Colony, provided that the education were confined to instruction in the vernacular, and that no attempt were made to force sectarian teaching on the children against the wish of the parents, whether Buddhists or Hindus.

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#### CHINA AND RELIGION.

SIR,

Somebody in Cambridge—possibly the charming reviewer himself—has sent me a lengthy review of my poor book "China and Religion," marked, in writing, "*Cambridge Review*," from which I conclude that the undeserved notice in question has appeared in a publication of that name. I say "charming," firstly, because it is clear from his remarks that the reviewer belongs to that supreme social grade of mankind which regularly and closely studies its *Asiatic Quarterly Review*; and, secondly, because he has not one single word to say in favour of my book, thus fulfilling the high *desideratum* of the Publishers' Union, Publishers' Society, (or whatever may be the correct name for the precincts in which those heroic men do habitually congregate); to wit, that a good slashing attack is by far the best "selling" recommendation that can be vouchsafed to a book. I could wish that such obscure Metropolitan journals as the *Athenæum*, *Outlook*, *Standard*, *Morning Post*, *Catholic Times*, *Methodist Times*, *New Age*, *Chronicle*, *Guardian*, *Record*, etc., not to mention the thirty or forty Scotch, Irish, provincial English, Colonial, and foreign

newspapers, which have, with such forgiving tolerance, noticed the said book, had given a timely thought to the same pre-eminent financial considerations; and had gauged their all too "kindly lights" by the fierce flash thus shot forth from the hub of the universe on the banks of the Cam. To use the words of the unemployed, "Curse your charity! give me work (to do, in replying)!" I am reminded of a picture that appeared a dozen years ago in *Punch*: "Why, confound it, sir" (quoth a rival artist), "your perspective is bad, there is no decent colour, the shading is impossible," etc. "What on earth is there to justify its admission into the Academy?" The reply was: "Why, the *pickchaw*, of course!"

There are, however, one or two specific points in connection with which the *spirituel* reviewer is really at fault himself. He says the book is "mostly a *réchauffé* of a number of magazine articles." This is quite wrong. It is still more untrue to say that they have been left "almost in their original patch-work state." Every single chapter but one was freshly written for the publisher, and not the slightest fragment of any chapter except that particular one is in any way a *réchauffé*; or has any part of the introduction, or of the eleven other chapters ever appeared in print before, though, of course, old facts may be (and must be) stated in similar language as occasion may require. The exceptional chapter is the one on Confucius, half of which *has* appeared before (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1897); and it now appears afresh because the publisher's "examiner" himself voluntarily suggested that "Confucius would be quite readable even as it now stands."

Then, as to the "spurious text known as the Taoist classic," why find fault with the translation if the original be spurious? So far as I have been able to ascertain, no Chinese historian or author of repute, at any date whatever, has ever suggested that the classic is in any degree spurious; on the contrary, it has been steadily quoted as an unshakable text dynasty by dynasty, century by century, ever since it

was written. Is it possible that the Cambridge reviewer has fallen under the glamour of Dr. Herbert Giles's influence (Professor of Chinese at Cambridge)? Certainly, in his youthful days, Professor Giles rashly contended for the spuriousness of Lao-tsz's classic; but Dr. Legge, Dr. Chalmers, and other of the sinological giants of the day, at once (and giving their full reasons, which I have found to be correct) mercilessly ridiculed this view, which, I believe, has never been accepted by any sinologist of sound standing: indeed, Professor Giles's son, Mr. Lionel Giles, M.A. (Oxon), published last year (1904) a little book called the "Sayings of Lao-tzŭ," which was favourably reviewed by me in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1905,\* and which seemed to me to be a part recantation, at least, of his father's obsolete and "cranky" views. True, even supposing that the reviewer of "China and Religion" has, indeed, allowed himself to be influenced by Professor Giles's views, these views, in the case of insignificant persons like the present writer—not to speak of Lao-tsz himself—are apt (I must warn him) to vary with the distensions or contractions of Professor Giles's unusually large heart; for I myself have been frequently denounced as a spurious sinologue, and praised as a consummate master, by the same lively scholar at different periods of his career.

As to M. Revon's work on "Shinintoïsme," I have contributed a notice of it for this issue of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and when the Cambridge reviewer hazards the remark that "it is, indeed, charitable to hope that they (*i.e.*, my humble words on Shintoism) were written prior to the publication of M. Revon's work," I have great pleasure in informing him in reply that his charity is here not at all misplaced. My chapter was written in May last, and was printed in June; I have no idea when M. Revon's book was printed, but he (though a perfect stranger to me) sent me a copy of it on September 30 last, accompanied by a very polite letter, in exchange for which I had the

\* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1905, p. 207.

pleasure to send him in return my own book, and to do him at the same time the small service he sought from me. As to the philosopher Vainancius, contrary to what the Cambridge reviewer supposes, I possess his work in the original.

As to the views of Mencius or the origin of man's disposition, I refer to his "original sin," or what Dr. Legge calls his "lost mind."

Since my Cambridge admirer has been so good as to express sympathy with me on account of the unsaleability of my literary wares, and to give the "trade" a fillip by "going for me" in good publisher-desired form, I take the liberty of utilizing the hospitable machinery of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* in order to make the following corrections of more real mistakes or misprints in my book :

Page 29, seventh line from bottom, add "no" before "longer."

Page 67, for "legis" read "leges."

Page 69, for 2,200 read 2,100.

Page 172, for "their faith" read "the Jewish faith."

Page 193, for "French Jesuit" read "Italian Jesuit."

There are a few more trifling corrections to be made ; but, thanks to Mr. John Murray's admirable mechanical organization, they are exceedingly unimportant, and, together with certain organic emendations to be made at the suggestion of special authorities on Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, Orthodoxy, Catholicism, etc., they will receive due attention in the second edition. I shall also look up the other defects pointed out by the Cambridge reviewer, and, if I find he is right, I will be right too. Finally, I take this opportunity to correct a misprint in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October last, p. 398 : M. Jean HUC should be M. Jean HUE—a distinction which touches the whole point of that particular criticism made by me on Professor Douglas' work.

I am, etc.,

E. H. PARKER.

LIVERPOOL,

November 30, 1905.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

A. J. CAMBRIDGE AND CO.; BOMBAY, AND 31, NEWGATE STREET, LONDON, 1905.

1. *The Mahābhārata: A Criticism*, by C. V. VAIDYÁ, M.A., LL.B., Hon. Fellow of the University of Bombay. The author tells us, in his preface that, as the result of careful investigation, he has arrived at certain conclusions concerning Indian epic poetry. These ideas he proposes to develop in a series of treatises, of which the one now before us is the first. In this instalment he sets forth his views on the *Mahābhārata* considered from the literary and historical standpoints. His next instalment will deal with the second great Hindú epic, the *Rāmāyan*, in which he will view this popular favourite from similar standpoints; while the last of the series is to contain a survey of the social, religious, and intellectual conditions of the Aryan race between the years 3000 and 300 before the Christian era, as evidenced by these two venerable epics.

It has often been complained by Hindús that the men who have sought to interpret the East to the West have been persons of alien race and alien religion—the intended inference being that such interpretation has not been all that Hindú sentiment could have desired. On this account all such attempts as the present one to fulfil the function are decidedly to be welcomed. But if all Hindú writers on Hindúism had been as competent as Mr. Vaidyá, European writers would never have ventured upon the task. There is no denying that a work on the Indian epic poems was needed by persons of the missionary class in India, and by European Orientalists in general. Mr. Vaidyá has done good service in thus interpreting the East to the West. Many to whom those epics have hitherto been as a sealed book will be convinced that “there were great men before



the days of Agamemnon"—that they are in error who suppose that all that is great, and good, and wise, and brave, has been reserved for the men and women of our own time.

In describing the various additions of the Mahābhārata, the author mentions that the opinions of Hindū authorities as to the number of *shlokas* which the poem contains vary widely, some reckoning that there are as many as 100,000 *shlokas*, while others adopt the more manageable figure of 8,800. Where doctors so widely differ, who shall decide? And what mere European Orientalist would presume to rush in where seraphs might fear to tread? The Pundits must be left to fight out this battle among themselves. The mystery is to be sought, probably, in some variation in the principle of counting. But, indeed, the mental labour of this truly great epic must have been vast, exceeding all that the imagination could conceive. Mr. Vaidyā throws wondrous energy into his labour, and he succeeds in investing this old-world poem with a new charm. For anyone who has become possessed of the passion for the heroic deeds and moral excellences of the earlier Indians, it will be difficult to tear himself away from this book of Mr. Vaidyā's. It may not be necessary to regard every statement in the Mahābhārata as "Gospel truth," any more than the statements of the historical romances of Sir Walter Scott, or in the "Death of Arthur," or in the epics of Milton; and yet the impression left on the mind is that long prior to the era of the Buddha there were men and women in Bhāratvarsha of a type of mind and character second to none in the history of nations. That devout Hindūs should cherish for the Mahābhārata and its heroes and heroines sentiments of admiration and affection somewhat akin to worship is not to be wondered at.

Mr. Vaidyā apologizes for any defects in the transliteration of Sanskrit words and names which he anticipates the reader will detect in the course of the work. So far, good; but no less important is the entire absence of accent-

marking, and of the recognised indications of the quality of consonants and of the quantity of the long vowels in names. The sound of *t* in "Anushtub" is not the same sound as the sound of it in "Bhárata"—the fact being that, although these letter-forms are in English one and the same, they are in Sanskrit two several letters, distinct in form and different in pronunciation. In places innumerable, again, the grammar of the author's English is sadly at fault. A lad at a Bombay University "Entrance" would surely get *minus* marks for such a sentence as that beginning "Nay" on p. 53 ! We regret to notice that the English exhibits, notwithstanding the author's University distinctions, nearly all the defects characteristic of the attempts of Indians to compose in this language. There is the well-known inaccuracy in the use of the article definite, the seemingly incurable misuse of the tense-forms of the verb, and the characteristic confusion in the application of "shall" and "will." But we have no heart for fault-finding. Good, however, as the composition is, regarded on the whole, we have seen better in the writings of Hindús who had no University degree. In future editions Mr. Vaidyá might discover some practised English penman to whom he might allow a free hand in correcting the English of his work, from the first page to the last. If thus the defects alluded to should be cleared out, the work would prove more comfortable reading. The volume, however, contains signs of long and loving study of the Mahábhárata, and the three volumes will together form the satisfactory fruit of the author's high talents and unsparing research. Though a small book (only 222 pp.), the work is *great* enough to create, as we believe, an epoch in the study of this, the world's grandest epic poem.—B.

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CHAPMAN AND HALL, LTD.; LONDON, 1905.

2. *The Emancipation of Egypt*, by A. Z. Translated from the Italian. This work discusses from an Italian

point of view the Egyptian Question and the Great Powers ; also France and Italy ; British Imperial Policy ; the Position of Great Britain in Egypt ; the Egyptian Nation and Neutralization as the Only Solution of the Question, whether we study it from the Standpoint of Europe in General, Great Britain in Particular, or the Interests of Humanity in the African Continent. The writer's opinion is embraced in the following paragraph : " Look where we will, for the native the future of Africa looms darkly. From the European there is not a glimmer of hope. One chance alone remains, and that is that some Mahometan Power should arise which, by the power it possesses of really reaching the native soul, may confer upon him some civilization, perhaps not the best, but such a one as should prepare him for the reception of a better. The one Power which might perhaps be trusted with the fulfilment of so noble a mission is Egypt—Egypt, which after a long and hard novitiate has learned from Europe all that it may learn for its betterment. But it is all as a free nation, with a proud consciousness of itself, that Egypt could act. And why should we not admit that Egypt has ended her years of apprenticeship, and that the hour has struck when she may be entrusted with the guidance of her own career—a career on which hangs the last despairing hope of African regeneration ? " The volume is devoid of information to the English reader and statesmen who peruse the admirable annual reports of Lord Cromer.

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CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY ; LONDON, 1905.

3. *The Historical Development of the Qor'ân*, by the Rev. EDWARD SELL, D.D., Honorary Canon of St. George's Cathedral, Madras, Fellow of the University of Madras. This little work (234 pp.) is one of the series published under the head of " Non-Christian Religious Systems. " A work of this kind—accurate though compendious—has long been a desideratum. It is fitted to be of the greatest

usefulness to missionaries and to the general reader, and especially to students preparing to further the interests of the Christian religion in all parts of the world where Muhammadans reside—Europe, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago.

The force and application of much of the subject-matter of the Qor'án turns upon the question of the *period* in the lifetime of Muhammad at which any given passage was first promulgated. To indicate the relation of one Sura to another *in point of time* becomes an absolute necessity to any Christian controversialist who would help the thoughtful Muhammadan in his quest of truth. It is just in this particular that the special value of this work of Dr. Sell's comes in. The unfortunate thing is that there are several of the Suras (or chapter-divisions) the locality of the original promulgation of which has never yet been ascertained—whether Mekka or Medína—and which will (as far as the present state of knowledge helps us to forecast) remain problematical to the end of time. What is still more important is this: that the materials of some of the Suras have from the first been so jumbled up that even Muhammadans themselves have always found them to defy disentanglement. Dr. Sell very truly speaks (p. 33) of certain of the Suras as being "composite." It is as if a few verses from Exodus and a few from Job, and a few from any of the Prophets, and from either of the Gospels, and either of the Epistles, should be all shaken together and printed in a book, without continuity, and without connection or context of any sort or kind. Such is the discordance and irrelevancy of the subject-matter of some of the Suras. This being the condition of things in the Qor'án as Muhammadans and ourselves now possess it, what must have been the condition of the subject-matter prior to the final editing under the auspices of Uthmán the Khalifa! This leads us to express the hope that some day we may become possessed of a treatise on the "Editions of the Qor'án," with the view of settling the history of the materials of which the book is

made up. For it is only when we are in a position to settle, not only the time and place of each of the Suras, but also the chronological order and relative setting of each and every A'yat, that we shall be able to understand the subject of the "development" of the Islámic system. As to the materials for such an enterprise, they are not far to seek: all that is needed is that a man so competent and so industrious as Dr. Sell should undertake it. Of mere "commentaries" on the Qor'án (both Muhammadan and European) the name is well-high legion; but they all leave more or less unchurned the important and, indeed, vital aspect of the subject which we have now indicated.

Amid so much to commend, we have to confess to a feeling of disappointment that we find not in the whole course of Dr. Sell's volume as much as a single allusion to the "Akbar Hajj," a subject to which allusion is made in the Qor'án, and which every true Muhammadan deems of the highest importance. It marked, moreover, a distinct step in the "development" of the Qor'anic system. This is the more to be regretted, seeing that he is very particular in distinguishing between the Hajj and the Umra. The Akbar Hajj, however, highly important though it is in the Islámic system, is not by any means an easily manageable subject, requiring as it does that one fix the relation in point of time to the regular annual observance. The manner in which the printing has been accomplished speaks well for the workmanship of the Vepary Press.—B.

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CHURCH MISSIONARY HOUSE, SALISBURY SQUARE,  
LONDON, E.C., 1906.

4. *River, Land, and Sun, being Sketches of the London Church Missionary Society's Egypt Mission*, by MINNA C. GOLLOCK. This beautifully illustrated volume is a brief record of the important work of the London Church Missionary Society in Egypt, as seen by the author during winter visits made on three different occasions, covering in

all a period of eleven months. No attempt has been made to narrate the work of other missionary agencies. There is one, however, specially referred to—that is, the American Presbyterian Mission, which has worked on a larger scale than any other in Egypt for fifty years. The volume, so well printed, exhibits more than 100 well-executed illustrations of towns, manners and customs of the people, the people themselves and children, the Nile and its ferry-boats, hospitals, villages, tombs, etc. The volume would be a handsome and beautiful Christmas gift to those interested in Egypt, and specially to those who are co-operating in so ancient and interesting a country in Christian work.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1905.

5. *A Catechism of Tamil Grammar*, No. 2, by the Rev. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., Lecturer in Tamil and Telugu in the University of Oxford, etc. Pope's "Tamil Handbook" has for so many years been a household word in Southern India, and wherever Tamil is spoken, that it is a pleasant surprise to have evidence brought home to one of its venerable author being as active as ever. The catechism now reprinted by him—one of a series of grammatical works which have been in use for over half a century—is a very convenient volume, whose present edition is especially intended for officials qualifying for the higher proficiency examination. Dr. Pope begins *ab ovo*, with the letters of the alphabet, making the method in the apparent madness of their changes plain to the uninitiated; then he passes on to the different parts of speech and the syntax, and ends with the prosody. He illustrates the answers to his questions, at each step, by examples—often dividing the words given, moreover, into their constituent parts—and these, with the declensions, paradigms of verbs, etc., place the quintessence of the language, vulgar as well as literary, within easy reach of all who know Tamil sufficiently well to read it. Completeness has



been aimed at as well as brevity, so that one is not disappointed when looking for such peculiarities as the negative verb *seyyāthirukkiv rān* or words like *enr ru*.—C.

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ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LTD.; 16, JAMES STREET, HAYMARKET, WESTMINSTER, 1905.

6. *The Far Eastern Tropics: Studies in the Administration of Tropical Dependencies*, by ALLEYNE IRELAND, F.R.G.S. The author of this work was appointed in 1901 as Colonial Commissioner of the University of Chicago for the purpose of visiting the Far East, and preparing a comprehensive report on colonial administration in South-Eastern Asia. The report is in course of preparation, and will be produced in ten or twelve volumes by Messrs. Small, Maynard and Co., Cambridge, Mass., in the course of the next four years. Meanwhile the present succinct, interesting, and valuable volume has been produced. He has studied the subject during the last fifteen years, and the work contains a history of the origin, mode of control, and its maintenance while protecting the liberty and promoting the welfare of the natives of the respective colonies. It embraces Hong Kong, British North Borneo, Sarawak, Burma, the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements, French Indo-China, Java, and important chapters on the history and acquisition of the Philippine Islands, their government, the economic conditions and American policy. In addition there are valuable appendices of statistics, of bibliography, tables from the Philippine census, embracing population under various classifications, education, occupation of the people, and other details. There is also a minute and copious index. The work deserves the most careful attention. The author has written with the object of exciting an interest in tropical colonization, and of considering how best this colonization can be safely conducted so as to advance civilization and the welfare of the people. It may be added, although the author occupies an

important position in the University of Chicago, he is a British subject, and he uses the expressions "our colonial policy," "our Far Eastern possessions," etc.

7. *The Risen Sun*, by BARON SUYEMATSU. Baron Suyematsu was one of what may be termed the second wave of Japanese pioneers (the Marquis Ito and his contemporaries being regarded as the first) who came to Europe with a view of making themselves thoroughly familiar with Western institutions, and he holds the distinction, which (owing to linguistic difficulties) has not fallen to a great many of his countrymen, of having taken a good degree at Cambridge. On those who knew him there in the early eighties he certainly made the impression of reserve of intellectual power and scarcely less so of originality, so that few of his contemporaries have been surprised that his subsequent career in his native country has been a distinguished one, including, under the Marquis Ito's Cabinet, the Ministry of the Interior. It is characteristic of the modesty of the man that none who knew him at Cambridge were aware that he had even then held a staff officer's commission in the Satsuma rebellion—that great struggle which was of similar vital importance to modern Japan as was the Civil War to America.

When the war between Russia and Japan broke out, Baron Suyematsu undertook a semi-official mission to Europe, the object of which was to counteract, as far as speech and writing could do so, the effects of the pro-Russian press propaganda, which, though ultimately as dismal a failure as the operations of the same Power in the field, was at one time thought to be dangerous. In speech, in lecture, and "from the platform of the great reviews" in France, Germany, and England (the *Asiatic Quarterly* among the number), Baron Suyematsu has most ably discharged his task, and the present work, with its very appropriate title, consists of these various utterances collected together and re-edited by himself and his secretaries. The work is divisible into three main sections, which we may

term the political, the ethological, and the prophetic. The first of these, which to the general reader will be, perhaps, the least interesting portion of the book, deals with the political controversy with Russia which resulted in the war; the second is directed to placing before European readers the Japanese character and some of the salient features of the history of modern Japan in its most important aspects; and the latter part deals with the external relations of the country as at present modified, and likely in the future to be affected by, the results of the war.

Everyone interested in Japan—and who now is not?—will find “The Risen Sun” a fascinating and absorbing work. It is pre-eminently triumphant in vindicating “Dai Nippon” from the charge more often levelled against her on the Continent than here of being a semi-barbarous parvenu, who, like a Central African potentate, has recently adopted the frock-coat and top-hat. On the contrary, Baron Suyematsu shows very clearly that his country is

“A land of just and old renown,  
Where freedom slowly broadens down  
From precedent to precedent,”

and that its arts were flourishing and its civilization highly developed before the days of Charlemagne. Of particular interest and charm might be selected the chapters on Japanese “Arts and Letters,” “Moral Teaching in Japan,” and more especially “The Making of a Soldier in Japan.” The facts revealed in this latter chapter go a long way towards explaining the results of the war, and they show very clearly that those responsible for Japan’s military system have, above all things, set themselves to “inform” the nation’s soldiers with the old Japanese “military spirit” which has become universally famous as “Bushido.”

The latter part of the work has, naturally enough, a triumphal note, and one is glad to observe that for the last great naval battle the author has adopted the name of Tsushima, rather than the prosaic official title of the Battle of the Sea of Japan; for Tsushima is an island, and will

one day be almost as famous in history as that other island—"Salamis much beaten of the sea."—R. N. L.

ARTHUR HUMPHREYS: HATCHARD, 187, PICCADILLY,  
LONDON.

8. *John of Damascus*, by DOUGLAS AINSLIE. For anyone knowing the East, the most striking characteristic of this book is the success with which the author, who has never been there, puts himself in the place of Orientals, and the accuracy, on the whole, with which he makes them give an account of their different creeds. These, in fact, form the subject of the poem; and he has enshrined them in a picturesque story—a meeting brought about by him between a Christian saint, the Vizier of the contemporary Caliph, a Buddhist ascetic, and that mysterious personage, the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan. St. John the Damascene, the vicissitudes of whose previous life form an introduction, tells the tale of Barlaam and Joasaph, weaving into it an exposition of Christian doctrine. The Buddhist claims the legend, saying that it is but an adaptation of that of Gautama, whose life and teaching he then describes. When he has done, the Vizier speaks of Islam, drawing largely upon its folk-lore to complete the picture, and bringing it down to the end of the fourth caliphate. As he concludes the Veiled Prophet comes upon the scene and takes up the thread. He recalls the tragedy of Kerbela, with the events that led up to it, and the peculiar tenets of the Shiahs concerning the Day of Judgment. The end of his story is practically that of the poem, the other characters merely adding a few words before they, like him, take their departure.

It must not be imagined for a moment that Mr. Ainslie's work is a succession of dry theological treatises; he has managed to give an idea of the different religions without ever being tiresome. He takes care not to make dogmas heavy by dwelling too long upon them, and he varies them

with anecdotes and legends, so as to keep the reader constantly interested. There are a few errors to be corrected in the next edition—the calumny, for instance, that Moslems believe women to be “soulless” (p. 140), repeated by the author in evident good faith. But the wonder is that there are not more. Whence has Mr. Ainslie got that exasperating last vowel, by the way, in “Ya Mohammeda” (p. 216)?—C.

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ERNEST LEROUX ; PARIS.

9. *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, translated and annotated by ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES, Professor at the College of France. It is now ten years since the unwearied French Professor brought out his first volume of China's earliest real history, and now at last, after a long interval, we are at the fifth volume, the dates of the others being 1895, 1897, 1898-1899 (two parts), and 1901. Volume v. brings us up to the end of chapter 47, out of a total of 115 chapters ; so that there still remains plenty of heavy work to do. The previous volumes have each from time to time been duly noticed in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* ; the twelve chapters last reviewed, forming volume iv., treated of the history of the feudal States during the “Spring and Autumn” or hegemony period (722-481 B.C.)—that is, during the stretch of time covered by Confucius' Annals known by that peculiar name. The present volume of 550 pages treats of the nominally feudal States, which from being influential began to be really independent of the waning imperial power, subsequent to the “Spring and Autumn” ; but during the “Fighting States” period—*i.e.*, when the non-Chinese or mixed States of Ts'in in the west and Ch'u in the south began to contest the political supremacy which had been long held by the purely Chinese States of Ts'in (Shan Si) and Ts'i (Shan Tung), and to prepare the way for the revolutionary conquest by Ts'in. Finally comes the biographical sketch of Confucius himself, who is thus ranked amongst the “Kings” of the world. M. Chavannes

has thus already completed the translation of the more important half of this great historical work; and there now remains little more than the list of personal biographies and the supremely interesting accounts of the Hiung-nu (Turks) and other "barbarous" States. If, as we may devoutly hope, M. Chavannes continues to enjoy health and strength sufficient for the accomplishment of this great task, we shall possess a magnificent annotated work of at least 5,000 octavo pages, in many respects even a vaster achievement than the original monumental *Shi-ki* of Ez-ma Ts'ien himself.

One of the most remarkable results of our indefatigable author's latest researches is a fairly clear proof that the celebrated romance (third century B.C.) of the two voyages of the "Emperor" Muh to the land of the "Queen of the West" (tenth century B.C.) is really nothing more than a traditional account of the journeys of a Turko-Chinese feudatory, the *Duke* Muh (seventh century B.C.), to the regions of Kuché and Harashar. That is, in this as in many other cases during their early career of expansion and intellectual conquest, the invading central Chinese quietly appropriated such of the noble and martial traditions of conquered feudatories (or sub-States, or foreign States) as suited their purpose, and deliberately brazed them on to the framework of their own imperial history; just as, for instance, Julius Cæsar "appropriated" the Gaulish divinities, and rechristened them with such Roman names as Mars and Minerva.

In these pleasure-loving and idle times, those persons who wish for a short respite from self-indulgence, pomp, and vanity, could not do better than settle down to a little medicinal change, and refresh themselves mentally with the study of M. Chavannes' marvellous volumes.—  
E. H. PARKER.

10. *Le Shinn-toïsme*, by MICHEL REVON, formerly Professor of French Law at the Imperial University, Tōkyō. This book, a careful study of over 200 pages, has for its object to



show that the Japanese had a genuine primitive religion, developed on the usual lines of Nature-worship, Animism, Hero-worship, Fetichism, etc., long before the arrival of Buddhism and Confucianism from China, viâ Corea, forced them to invent a special name for it. The name they then chose for their old religion was *Shên-tao*, or, in pure Japanese, *Kami-no-michi*, "the spirits' (or gods') road." This purely Chinese word first appears in Japanese history in 586, at the accession of the Emperor Yō-meï (Yung-ming), when it is stated that the said Emperor or Tennō (T'ien-hwang) "revered *Shên-tao* (*Shin-to*) and believed in the Buddhist law." But it must be remembered that, at that date the very word Yō-meï did not exist (if at all) in any historical work—Japanese, Corean, or Chinese—and that it was not until the year 712 that any Japanese "history" was composed at all, and even then only from the memory of one single aged retainer, who had (twenty-five years before) been orally *told* of it all by a former Emperor. All this, and a great deal more bearing on the worthlessness of ancient Japanese "history," has been explained *ad nauseam* by Messrs. Chamberlain, Aston, and Satow in various papers, and also succinctly by the present critic in vol. xxiii. of the *China Review* of 1898, pp. 59-74; moreover, it is all admitted by the Japanese themselves. M. Revon now wishes us to believe that the Japanese only applied the Chinese word *Shin-to* to their already existing and matured national religion after the arrival in Japan of Buddhism (sixth century), and in order to distinguish it from Buddhism: he thinks it absurd to call *Shin-to* a Chinese religion, simply because a ready-made and ancient Chinese name was thus given to it. He thinks that, if the ancient Chinese and the ancient Japanese religious ideas correspond, it is not because one was derived from the other, but because each developed on its own independent lines. Moreover, he considers that Japanese *Shin-to* (previous to the reform and reconstructions of two centuries ago) *does* contain a moral code and *is really* a religion, though perhaps not in

our Western sense—*i.e.*, complicated by abstract metaphysics. In this view he is, to a certain extent, supported by that *premier des japonistes*, Sir E. Satow, and, indeed, no one need deny to any race, which has survived the 2,000 years' struggle for independent existence, the original capacity to think out a primitive Nature-worship for itself.

M. Revon is, perhaps, a little too positive in laying down when the celebrated triumvirate of *japonistes* just named are *à tort* in what they say. His own plan is to take the texts of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* "histories," with all their faults, and to endeavour, by comparing their statements with the ancient *norito*, or "prayers," and with modern village life and superstition, to arrive at a clear notion of the anthropomorphism, magic, fear of death, desire for spontaneous adoration, development of fetichism, etc., which characterized the evolution of early *Shin-to*. It will be for each reader to form his own opinion upon the value of M. Revon's special pleadings. The writer of the present notice finds the author's knowledge of Chinese much too slender. He adduces, as established Japanese ideas, notions manifestly Chinese. For instance, *Shin-koku*, "Japan," is manifestly a variant of *Shên-chou*, "China," just as *tei-koku*, "empire" (an expression unknown in China) has been evolved out of Chinese words. As a study in religious evolution M. Revon's work is excellent, but as an attempt to deprive China of the honour of having created Japanese abstract thought it is of doubtful value.—E. H. PARKER.

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LUZAC AND CO. ; GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, 1905.

II. *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by the late E. J. W. GIBB; edited by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic and Fellow of Pembroke College in the University of Cambridge. In the number of this *Review* for April, 1905, we had a notice of the previous volume of the present work. The contri-

bution now before us is volume iv., and to all that was then said respecting the enterprise we have not much to add. As regards the distinguishing peculiarities of the present volume, they may best be stated in Dr. Browne's own words: "The character of what remains of my task," says he, "undergoes in this the fourth volume a material change. Up to this point I have had before me a manuscript which, however much the author might, if he had lived, have modified or enlarged, was essentially complete, needing only trifling alterations and occasional notes.\* For the period which remains—the period, that is to say, of the New School, which deserted Persian for French models, and almost recreated the Turkish language (so greatly did they alter its structure and the literary ideals of their countrymen)—only three chapters were to be discovered among my friend's papers." It thus appears that, as far as regards authorship and subject-matter, the work now enters upon a new stage. As Dr. Browne's description thus suggests, the present volume deals with the modern Roman-ticists—Shinási Efendi, Ziyá Páshá, and the rest. To what was said in our former notice there is not much that needs to be added. The name of Dr. Browne has for many years been before the world of Orientalists, and needs no recommendation. The Turkish original is composed in the "Gazal" form—a form that readily lends itself to erotic poetry—and the translation is done into English couplets corresponding thereto. The poems being of an amatory nature, there is much in them of a highly diverting character. There is an aroma about them which is redolent of the glowing Orient; and the work, apart altogether from its scholarly character, will form seductive and amusing reading, as well in the original as in this the English translation. In the printing and other mechanical parts of the work, the present volume maintains to the full the singularly high level alluded to in our notice above referred to. The enterprise has not yet reached the "index" stage; the great extent of the work, however,

and the abundance of learned information contained in the foot-notes, will be found to render such an appendage highly important and most useful.—B.

12. *Hebrew Humour, and other Essays*, by J. CHOTZNER, PH.D., late Hebrew Tutor at Harrow. This volume (180 pp.) consists of a series of papers that have already appeared in several periodicals; it treats of Hebrew subjects—Biblical and extra-Biblical—as well of modern times as of ancient. The essays are sixteen in number, and they are written in the sketchy style which readers of periodical literature find acceptable; it is, therefore, a work for the general reader rather than for the scholar. The author includes in his treatises not only the older Hebrew writings, but also the writings of Hebraists down through the centuries to our own time, embracing even “modern Hebrew journalism.”

Every reader of the Bible must have perceived that the humour displayed by the writers of our Sacred Literature presents a subject well worthy of careful notice. This same quality may be found no less in the Greek Scriptures than in the Hebrew. Greek, however, does not come within the scope of the author's scheme. But the reader should not be too much influenced by the word “humour” in this connection. As found in the Scriptures, a good deal of it is what in these days would oftener be described as “banter,” “irony,” “ridicule,” “sarcasm”—all, however, perfectly natural, and never strained, far-fetched, or out of place, as witness the incitement of the prophet to call more loudly in the invocation of the Sun-god in the Carmel incident (1 Kings xviii. 27). It is the sarcastic banter of one who was fully assured that he was himself on the winning side. In the order of “humorousness” Dr. Chotzner grades the prophets thus: Isaiah, Kohalath, Hosea, Amos; giving Elijah, however, a very high place, “alone by himself”—a kind of inspired Diogenes.

As the Scripture passages alluded to are numerous, a list of them should have been given at the end of the work,

as also, and in a separate count, of the Hebrew words which come in for notice. Such an arrangement would have rendered the work more interesting to the intelligent reader, and would have been a saving of time. But there is, even so, a good deal of information in the volume which will make it charming reading to all who would obtain an insight into the subject of Hebrew literature, ancient or modern.—B.

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MADRAS; PRINTED FOR THE SUPERINTENDENT OF RECORDS,  
GOVERNMENT SECRETARIAT AND GOVERNMENT PRESS, 1904.

13. *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Dubâsh to Joseph Francois Dupleix*, translated from the Tamil, by order of the Government of Madras, by SIR E. FREDERICK PRICE, K.C.S.I., assisted by K. RANGACHARI, B.A. Vol. I. Records of native life in French India in the time of Dupleix are none too common, and for this reason especially do we hail the appearance of this important and excellently edited book. It is the diary of Avanda Ranga Pillai, an inhabitant of Madras, who at an early age was taken by his father to Pondicherry in 1716, where he had influential connections, and there he spent the remainder of his life under the rule of the French. His relative Guruva Pillai embraced Christianity in France, whither he had gone on a mission to the Duke of Orleans for help to redress the unjust charges against his family, was made a chevalier of St. Michael and appointed "Courtier," or chief native inhabitant of Pondicherry, and though he died when the diarist was young, he doubtless made his influence felt. The diarist himself was employed in 1726 by the Governor, M. Lenoir, and soon made head of the chief factory of Porto Novo, and in this capacity came under the notice of M. Dupleix, the new Governor, who, in 1747, raised him to the post of "Courtier," or "Chief Dubâsh," which he held, even after his patron's downfall, until 1756, when he was removed. He died a few years after, in 1761, just

four days before Pondicherry surrendered to the English and the vision of French supremacy in India was over. Much that is interesting is chronicled in this diary, as well as the most trivial incidents. The writer had considerable influence over Dupleix, and throughout the book we have many notices of him, of Mme. Dupleix, her daughters, and her unseen power also. The religious liberality of both the Governor and his wife is shown by the account of their visit to the school at Bommaiya Pálaiyam in December, 1744. In this voluminous book we might find many things to note had we space. In 1739 there is the hearsay report of Tahmasp Quli Khan's victories. In 1745 we notice that the Christian service was first held at Pondicherry without distinction of caste—the priest of Karikal being the reformer—and that sumptuary laws were laid down for female converts which were not kindly received. In the last pages we find the account of a fracas in 1746, when a certain M. Coquet was ejected (with beating) from a Tamil house, and the wise Governor congratulated the ejectors, saying, "They have done well in making a thorough example of him." The diarist does not neglect to draw some sharp pen portraits of his *confrères* also, one of which we will quote, as it is instructive as to his estimate of a certain Bálu Chetty and human nature. The passage runs: "His ideas are not of a high class; and not having moved in the society of gentlemen, he is not well mannered. The low nature of his character is to be imputed to the fact that he was not born rich."—A. F. S.

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METHUEN AND CO.; 36, ESSEX STREET, LONDON, W.C.

14. *Historical and Modern Atlas of the British Empire*, specially prepared for students by C. GRANT ROBERTSON, M.A., Oxon, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S. This is a handy and well-got-up Atlas. It contains coloured maps showing comparative views of the countries of the British Empire,



British Isles and Europe, Asia, Africa, America (including Canada and the West Indies), and Oceania. There is also an admirable introduction on the relation geography has to history, a short gazetteer of the British Empire and possessions up to date. For example, under the Commonwealth of Australia there is the following description: "A Federation of the six Colonies—New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, and Tasmania—created by 63 and 64 Vict., c. 12, January 1, 1901, responsible federal self-government." Under British India there is the following description: "That part of the Indian Peninsula which is under British rule and influence, and includes districts under direct administration and the native States. It is divided into nine provinces and certain minor charges. 1600-1858 administered by the East India Company. In 1858 the Crown, by 21 and 22 Vict., c. 106, resumed its sovereign rights. The supreme executive and legislative power in India is vested in the Governor-General in Council, subject to the Secretary of State for India in Council, who is responsible to the Crown in Parliament. In 1876 the Crown of Great Britain took the title of Emperor of India." We give only another example: "Orkney and Shetland Islands, a group of islands to the north of Scotland; capital, Kirkwall; under Norwegian jores, 872-1231; nominally under the King of Norway, 1231-1471; annexed to Scotland since 1471."

To show that it is up to date, we give the following quotations: "Political Changes in 1905.—Dominion of Canada: The organization of parts of the North-Western Territories of Canada into two new provinces, as shown on Map No. 51, was inaugurated (September, 1905): Alberta (comprising the former Alberta and one-half of Athabasca), capital, Edmonton; Saskatchewan (Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and one-half of Athabasca), capital, Regina." "Empire of India.—The provinces of Bengal, Central Provinces, and Assam have been rearranged and reconstructed, as shown on Map Nos. 34-35. The boundary between Bengal and the

Central Provinces has been readjusted, whilst Assam and the eastern portion of Bengal now form the new province of 'Eastern Bengal and Assam.' There are also interesting tables and lists giving the statistics of the British Empire and of possessions not now under the British Crown, as well as a bibliography of the British Empire, historical and modern. We strongly recommend this Atlas to our readers.

JOHN MURRAY ; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.,  
1905.

15. *China and Religion*, by E. H. PARKER, Professor of Chinese at the Victoria University of Manchester. This book seems to have for its leading note the suggestion that all religions are purely human institutions, the main double object of which has always been and is to account for the unknown, and to regulate the order of human life. The author nowhere states this formidable view as his own opinion, but the general trend of his arguments, as marshalled in facts cold and merciless, indicates that this must really be his view. For the rest, the twelve chapters are simply each in turn a historical retrospect of the twelve religions which have from time to time presented themselves for consideration to the Chinese mind; and, of course, it is for specialists in each department to decide for themselves how far this work has been faithfully and conscientiously performed by the author.

We are all more or less familiar with what has been said upon the subject of Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism—the *san-kiao*, or "three religions," of ancient and modern Chinese parlance—but Nestorianism, Manicheism, Mussulmanism, Judaism, the Russian Church, and Shintōism, have not yet been described in popular language in such a way as to make their influence in China clear to the man in the street. The overpowering influence of Taoism upon many, if not upon all, of these later teachings is described in detail, and the whole of the Taoist classic is translated

word for word in an appendix, with check numbers added, enabling the reader to refer to all sentences of parallel meaning. A good deal has been written lately upon the subject of Japanese *shintō* and *bushidō*, which latter "religion" is really of so modern a conception that no Japanese dictionaries even mention it by name, nor is there any trace of its existence under that name in any Chinese work, ancient or modern. In spite of the somewhat strained arguments of Baron Suyematsu, it is, in fact, as Mr. Aston has clearly shown it to be, a purely modern catchword, exploited for all it is worth, and turned (like our words "efficiency," "free trade," "open door," "retaliation," etc.) to purely political uses.

A special point in Mr. Parker's work which may be viewed with some satisfaction is the copious index. This enables the reader to control facts and dates by back and counter references. It cannot be too often impressed upon authors that a good index is as essential to a "learned" book as a good railway guide is essential to commodious travelling. The dozen or so of photographs are in some cases quite interesting—for instance, the picture of the Nestorian stone and the portrait of the Chinese priest, Father Hoang. As to the letterpress, Mr. Murray may be fairly congratulated upon his care and prudence. Throughout the whole book there is but one serious misprint, and that is the word *legis* for *leges* upon p. 67. Moreover, the paper is light, and the book may be easily held up to a lamp in one hand.

While Mr. Parker's study may be fairly described as interesting to all, and even absorbing to specialists, it can hardly be recommended to the lazy man for light reading; indeed, all but specialists will, perhaps, have a difficulty in mastering more than one chapter at a sitting. On the other hand, the unmistakable facts are there, and the places whence the facts are derived are all given in a preliminary "Foreword," so that anyone can "verify his references" for himself, and the book is secure of a long life. The author

seems to make a special point of the necessity for "objectiveness" in taking a fair and uncoloured view of the religions of mankind. To many of us this demand may savour too much of agnosticism, but, after all, why should we not all frankly admit the possibility of our being in error? Every man is at liberty to believe in the absolute virtue and sanctity of his own wife's—in other words, to make a religion of it—but who so foolish as to deny the physical possibility of that wife—or, at all events, any other wife's—going wrong under sudden temptation or overpowering moral pressure? So with religion. There is no reason under the sun why the most devout orthodoxy should not be coupled with the intellectual admission that "everything may be a mistake." Unless, in fact, we make this admission, in what way do we differ from those who claim "infallibility" for Papal decisions? Do we not inferentially declare ourselves infallible when we presume to deride the possibility that we may be wrong? The fact is, it is only within the past generation that men as a body have begun to "think straight" at all. Mr. Parker would have been burnt at the stake 300 years ago. In past times such men as Locke, Bacon, Newton, or Johnson, may have exceeded in reasoning power anything that we can show at the present "degenerate" day; but even they were on occasions unable to shake off the "infallible" beliefs they had sucked in with their mothers' milk. This was especially so in Johnson's case. The position now suggested, if not established, by Mr. Parker, that a man may be an absolute and convinced believer without abandoning one single point of vantage secured by modern science, is thus a simple though a far-reaching one; nor is it in any way inconsistent with reason or common-sense: it is that the individual mind must be—as in fact the individual body is—perfectly detached. In this way we can all hope to see clearly, and yet we are all left quite free to believe what we choose, however inconsistent with "undetached" thought.—JULIANUS.

16. *From the Cape to the Zambesi*, by G. T. HUTCHINSON, with an Introduction by COLONEL F. RHODES, C.B., D.S.O., with many illustrations from photographs by Colonel Rhodes and the author. The author, with a facile pen, describes the various scenes recorded in the book. He begins with South Africa, and says: "It is only now that Englishmen are beginning to realize how vast are the resources of South Africa. Practically the whole of it, from Cape Town to the Zambesi, may be described as a white man's country—in the sense that there are no climatic conditions to prevent white men from making it their home." "It is rich in mineral wealth." "Diamonds have been found in Cape Colony, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony, a fact that goes to prove that the deposits are spread over an immense tract of country; at the present the chief difficulty is to regulate the supply so that it shall not be in excess of the demand. The gold-mines of the Rand have much of the character of a permanent industry." "South Africa has great agricultural possibilities. For more than a century it has had a purely agricultural population, which has steadily spread northwards, and has now reached the Zambesi."

The author then gives his impressions of the Cape Colony; Kimberley; Rhodesia, its gold-mines, its farming operations, its prospects in the future; the Victoria Falls; the veld; the Native Question; the land settlement in the Orange River Colony; Johannesburg; and a copious index. The numerous illustrations are beautifully executed, and the author concludes: "These chapters [of the volume] will have entirely failed in their purpose if they indicate that all seems to be plain sailing in South Africa; everywhere there are difficulties to be met, and in many cases help is required from home. But they will have failed even more completely if they give the impression that things are beyond repair. The tone of quiet confidence that is universal in South Africa is an eloquent testimony to the contrary; the country may be said to be 'marking

time,' but nearly ready for the word 'advance.'" We believe this opinion is honestly and sincerely given.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; 24, BEDFORD STREET, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.; 27, WEST 23RD STREET, NEW YORK, 1905.

17. *Muhammad and the Rise of Islām*, by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH. There are some subjects which in their very nature are so contentious that it seems impossible to treat of them without more or less revealing one's own predilections. The most serious indictment of Ignatius Loyola that has ever yet come to our notice was written by one who was himself a Jesuit, and whose object in writing was to put forth an *apologia* for Jesuitism and its founder! Dr. Margoliouth, while desirous of steering clear of the "confessedly Christian bias" of Sir William Muir, does undesignedly, and by sheer suggestion, produce respecting Muhammad a most unfavourable impression. We say this not with any desire to derogate from the literary importance of his book, but merely as showing the unavoidably contentious nature of the materials, even when they fall into hands the most unprejudiced. The case proves that the more ingenuous and unbiassed the compilation of the life of the Prophet and the development of Islām, the more fatal is the verdict.

So rapidly have events unfolded themselves in regard to the history of the original founding of Islām within the last fifty years that it is now at length becoming clear that, masterly as were the compilations of Muir and Sprenger—works which will be classics for all time—several publications have appeared which supply details respecting the subject that in the days of those two writers were as yet undiscovered. They, to be sure, obtained their materials "from original sources," but the subsequent publication of the works of other Arabian writers has led, not to the undermining of their works (which, indeed, were an impossibility, seeing that they obtained their information from sources



the most primitive and authentic), but to the filling in of certain *lacunæ* and the addition of certain modifying details which lead to greater completeness in the narrative. Hence the *raison d'être* of this new contribution.

But high as the reputation of Dr. Margoliouth stands as an Orientalist, we know not on what information he was led to affirm (see Preface, p. vii) that Muḥammad "solved the political problem of the construction of an empire out of the Arab tribes." He did, to be sure, upset the long-dominant oligarchy of Mekka and the Hijáz, and he brought into subjection many tribes; but he never so subdued the *whole* of them, nor did he weld them into an "Empire"; and that his demise was the signal for general defection is matter of common knowledge. The conquests of Islám after his decease were *abroad* (in Egypt, Palestine, Spain, etc.) rather than among the Arabian tribes. Indeed, as Burckhardt showed a century ago, some of the tribes continue to this day not only unsubjected and unsubdued, but unconciliated, and even openly and actively hostile to the Islámic faith and practice. Some of the tribes of Arabia have from the very first remained coldly aloof and unaffected, while others of them have proved utterly unamenable and irreconcilable. If proof of this were needed, it might be seen in the agelong opposition of the tribes of the interior to the Hajj caravans. The heavy tribute they enforce, on pain of robbery and murder, is clear proof that *they* have no belief in the religion which renders passage through their howling wastes a matter of necessity. Their organized onslaughts on these followers of the Prophet are a standing evidence that in any "empire" *he* may have "constructed" *they* have no part or lot. From time immemorial the hostility of the tribes has been bought off at a very high price. They do not go on the pilgrimage themselves, and those who do so they relentlessly punish. And yet is this duty absolutely binding on every follower of his! The fact is, that with the removal of the personality of the Prophet all prospect of the subjection of the

numerous tribes of the Badawís vanished, and that for ever. The genuine son of the desert has ever proved himself as untamable as the wild ass of that same solitude—as well since the Prophet's time as prior to it—and whether his would-be subduer was Greek, Roman, or Arab. The hostility of the natives of Yaman, as lately as this very year, is proof that the hostility of the pre-Islámité Arabs to the Government of Mekka obtains to this very day. The further away the habitat of the tribes from the Sacred City, the more attenuated has ever been the influence on them of the system of which that is the headquarters, whether of politics or religion. Muḥammadism has never at any period been the religion of all Arabia, nor have the "tribes" ever been "constructed into an empire," whether in sub-Muḥammadan or pre-Muḥammadan times.

Nor are we at all able to agree with Dr. Margoliouth in his estimate (on the same page of the volume) of Sayyid Amír 'Alī. "Eloquent" it indeed is, as he says, and beautifully written; but it can only prove "charming" to one who is oblivious of the historical *facts*!

At the end of the work we have a useful "Index and Glossary," and a "Plan" of the city of Mekka, the details of the plan being carefully specified in the margin. This is followed by a map of Arabia as it was in the days of Muḥammad, showing the localities of the different Arab tribes in those days. In the Contents-Table at the beginning of the work are noted in chronological order the leading events of the Prophet's life, while the pictures (which are numerous) represent quite an interesting series of things, places, and individuals that come into the story. The work is decidedly enriched by the section devoted to the BIBLIOGRAPHY of the subject. Its object is to name all the works that are of any permanent value—Arabian, German, English, etc.—from the earliest writer, Ibni Is-hāq, down to articles that have been published in periodicals of our own time. It is impossible to appraise the importance of this section too highly to present and

future students of Islâmic subjects. Good, however, as the Bibliography is, we are sorry to be compelled to add that it is nothing like complete. We look in vain for any mention of the compact and really erudite compilation of Dr. Prideaux, Dean of Norwich. Not a word is said about Bartema and Finati, or of Badia of Spain, better known as "Ali Bey," to say nothing of the profoundly learned Pococks, father and son. In comparison with the works of these men, the desultory and superficial book of the well-nigh illiterate Hâji, A. H. Keane, is barely worth even a glint, and yet his book figures in this list! To be sure, he "went to Mekka," but so also did Badia, Bartema, Finati, and other men of our own time—English, Dutch, and others—whose books are not here mentioned, not to speak of the first Englishman that ever set foot in Mekka, poor Joseph Pitts. Last, but not least, *mirabile dictu*! we find not in this Bibliography the name of the distinguished French writer, Monsieur Caussin de Percival. We are sorry to have to point out so many defects and blemishes in what is, after all, a really good and useful compilation. The pictures are exceedingly well executed, and the composition and the printing are such as to make the perusal of the book a pleasure to the reader.—B.

18. *Tibet and Turkestan: A Journey through Old Lands and a Study of New Conditions*, by OSCAR TERRY CROSBY, F.R.G.S. So far as description of travel goes, this book may be described as a kind of "Sterne's Sentimental Journey," from the Caspian Sea, *viâ* Andijan, Kashgar, Yarkand, Khoten, Polu, and the Karakoram Pass, to Ladak-Leh and Kashmir. From that point of view the first few chapters will be disappointing to readers who want specific facts, and are indifferent to the subjective convolutions of the author's sympathetic heart. But Mr. Crosby has a reason for it, and as we read on we find that he not unreasonably concludes it to be unnecessary for him to repeat in detail what has already been stated *ad nauseam* in the books of other travellers—specialists, sportsmen,

scientists, politicians, etc.—who have been over nearly all of the same ground. Accordingly, the descriptive running history of the above-named places, including the incidents of travel, may be characterized as bald, and (to those who do not care to be bored with soliloquies and “asides”) in some places even tedious. True, a “Sketch of the History of Turkestan”—and a very passable one at that—is added (at the suggestion of the inevitable friends) in Chapter XXI., and there is an excellent “Sketch of Tibetan History” in Chapter XIV.\* Both of these came as a welcome surprise to the writer of these modest words of criticism, who began to think he was going to be deprived of any “back-bone” in the book at all.

Where Mr. Crosby rises to the full height of his evident lofty attainments is in his able and suggestive chapter on the Tibetan people—of whom, curiously enough, he saw the least—and in his discussion of the “true inwardness” of polyandry and monasticism. For his facts he appears to draw largely upon M. Grenard’s “Le Tibet,” but his generalizations appear to be his own, and, if so, they disclose traces of true statesmanlike and philosophical genius. There is no occasion whatever to apologize, as he does, for his “excursive reflection upon the lordly States of our Western world”—except that he exhibits an odious specimen of “split infinitive” four lines from the bottom of p. 165. These reflections are, in fact, intensely interesting, and if (as it seems) he is an American, his frank criticisms of Yankee political corruption do him great credit. His fierce attack upon the villainous record of Great Britain in connection with the opium trade would infallibly indicate his American origin, even if other things—including, in fact, his own statement—did not point that way. He also appears to

\* The facts, as stated in these two chapters, may be compared with the following papers in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*: “Nepaul and China,” January, 1899; “Kokand and China,” July, 1899; “Ephthalite Turks,” July, 1902; “How the Tibetans Grew,” October, 1904; “Kashgar,” October, 1905; “Yarkand,” January, 1906. Also “Khoten” and “Lob Nor,” both in the *Anglo-Russian Society’s Journal* for 1902.

have taken up a special anti-British brief in connection with the recent expedition to Tibet ; but here, though he is fair, and his arguments are excellently put, he forgets amid his cocksure calculations to specify the most likely Russian motive of all. If Russia had been able to create an "interest"—even a religious one—in Lhasa (as the German Emperor tried to do in the independence of the South African Republics), she would have infallibly solidified that interest, claimed right of way through the very Turkestan which, as Mr. Crosby shows, now blocks her, and ended by absorbing the whole of Turkestan, just as she absorbed Manchuria, and was about to absorb Corea—possibly with ultimate hopes of absorbing Japan too. Notwithstanding, however, Mr. Crosby's passionate pleadings for right against might, his sermon deserves the utmost attention ; and it is plain, from the general style of his remarks throughout the work, that he is in no way whatever given to sanctimonious claptrap, but is, indeed, a man of the world, and withal a just and a charitable one, full of sound good sense and true philosophy.

The charming photographs reproduced to illustrate this really first-rate book are scattered about in the most reckless manner, without any reference whatever to the opposite pages. The one on Abyssinians at least might have been placed in front of the page where the author's experiences in Abyssinia are spoken of as an illustration or comparison. Moreover, pretty and well chosen though the photographs are, they are nearly always "thick," and one can form little idea of personal features, least of all of the author's, or of Father Hendrick's, who appears to have been a most interesting man. The map also leaves something to desire, more especially as the author describes his route most carefully in the text. Surely, Karakoram at least ought to have been marked, not to mention the exact locality of the last Kirghiz encampment, the particular branch of the Upper Karakash, and the other villages spoken of on the road to Rudok from Polu, such as Sasar.

The chapter on Buddhism and "Pon-bo" deserves high praise, and is, perhaps, as good a popular account of Tibetan religion as has appeared anywhere. "Heavy work" is judiciously relegated to the Appendices, and, indeed, the author is to be congratulated on the skill with which he has avoided interlarding his pages with "stodge." The Index is only so-so, and might well have been fuller. "Song-Yang" and "Weng Ts'ang" are hideous distortions of "Sung Yün" and "Hüen Tsang," which in no possible Chinese dialect can bear the forms given by Mr. Crosby. At the bottom of p. 243 there is a sentence without a properly related nominative. The horrible Americanism *program* appears three-fourths of the way down p. 215; and a second excruciating "split infinitive" occurs near the top of p. 199. Notwithstanding, the misprints are very few, the style literary, and the general effect good.—E. H. PARKER.

BERNARD QUARITCH, 15, PICCADILLY, LONDON, W., 1905;  
E. J. BRILL, IMPRIMERIE ORIENTALE, LEYDEN.

19. An Abridged Translation into English of *Ibn Isfandiyār's History of Tabaristān*, by E. G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B. The present is an abridged translation of a work compiled as long ago as the year of Magna Charta (613 A.H.) by Muhammad bin al-Hasan bin Isfandiyār. It is based on the India Office MS., and compared with two MSS. in the British Museum. It is the second volume of the "Gibb" memorial series. The work, including the notes at the end, runs to 280 pages, and this is followed by an index of 74 pages, bringing the number of pages up to 356. This unusually large index is of great importance as supplying the clue to the almost endless names and details mentioned in this recondite and little-known history. The labour involved in the collating and transcribing translating and editing, of such a work must indeed have been immense, exceeding altogether the power of anyone but Dr. Browne himself to conceive of. His



functions as editor and proof-corrector of the work have been discharged in a manner beyond all praise. It is in no respect a slipshod performance; workmanship so sound in its principles and so highly finished is bound to hold its own for all time.

The volume is important for the light it throws on the intimate life of Persia and on the literary history of that land. It derives great interest from its relation to Mázyár, who stands for the national and religious ideal of ancient Persia. But this is only one aspect of the subject—an aspect which may not have interest for all student temperaments; another aspect of it is that of the historic wars—as well internecine as foreign—as also of military and political matters in general. Besides all this, the work abounds in information and anecdotes regarding the long series of Persian potentates. The whole subject-matter of the volume is fraught with Oriental shrewdness and redolent of the Oriental flavour. The publication of such works ought to be hailed as opening up to the Western mind the intellectual wealth of the wise men of the East hitherto hidden in musty and neglected MSS., and thus forming a groundwork on which future histories of that mysterious land might be built up.—B.

20. *Das religiöse Leben des Hindus*, von Ad. Stiegelmann, Stuttgart, 1905 ("Christenthum und Zeitgeist," Hefte zu Glauben und Wissen, Heft VI.). We are glad to see that Missionar Adolph Stiegelmann, who is now employed in South Africa, has not forgotten India, in which he travelled and laboured so long. His last work deals with the religious life of the Hindus. Many manuals have appeared on this subject, notably the "Indische Religionsgeschichte" of the late Professor Hardy, in which a vast amount of learning, illuminated by critical acumen, is packed into a very small compass. Mr. Stiegelmann's work is more popular than Professor Hardy's, and is characterized by a freshness of description and a warmth of sympathy, which are the result of his minute observation of Indian

customs and rites, and his familiar intercourse with the people of our great dependency. At the same time we are bound to admit that he never fails to go back to origins, and traces with patient industry the development of Indian religion from its source in the Vedic hymns to the form it assumed at the close of last century. The reformation of Buddha and the rise of the modern Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects are described at considerable length, though the religion founded by Mahāvīra seems to have escaped notice. Philosophy, which in India is so intimately connected with religion, is not neglected.

The most noteworthy sections of this pamphlet seem to us to be those dealing with family life in modern India and modern Indian theism. In the former we cannot help feeling that we are reading the account of a man who has "seen with his own eyes," and knows how to distinguish the permanent from the transitory in Hinduism. Mr. Stiegelmann seems to have been naturally attracted by the noble figure of the great Bengali reformer Rammohun Roy, whose services to his countrymen are, perhaps, in these latter days a little too much overlooked. It is, perhaps, difficult for any European duly to appreciate the heroic courage which Rammohun Roy showed in publishing, about the year 1813, a pamphlet directed against the practice of burning Hindu widows alive with the dead bodies of their husbands. He showed equal courage as an advocate of theism against idolatry. He was the true founder of the movement, subsequently developed, on various lines, by Debendra Nath Tagore, Keśab Chandra Sen, Dayānanda Sarasvatī, and others.

There can be no doubt that the religion of Keśab Chandra Sen and his successor, Pratāp Chandra Mazumdar, has been profoundly influenced by Christianity. But there is good reason to think that Hindus who have not joined any theistic Church are not altogether impervious to Christian ideas. The following words of our author seem to describe admirably the present attitude of the

Indian mind—in Bengal, at any rate—on this subject: “Many modern Hindus acquainted with the Bible read Hinduism in a Christian light, and instead of saying of our religion, as they would have done twenty years ago, ‘It is not true,’ say, ‘It is not new.’” It is certainly a sign of the times that a distinguished Bengali, as we have lately seen to be the case, can, apparently without abandoning Hinduism, argue in favour of the existence of God, a future life, and the efficacy of prayer. It would appear to be our author’s view that Christianity is exerting on modern Hinduism an influence similar to that which it exerted in the early ages of the Church on the religions of Mithra and Isis. In support of this we quote his concluding words:

“As Christianity triumphed over the religions of Greece and Rome, not by destroying them, but by absorbing into itself what was good and true in Greek philosophy and Roman law, so will it happen with India; her longings, her mysticism, and her speculation will be sanctified by Christ, and find in Him their fulfilment and elevation, and so the beautiful words of the Indian sage will come true:

“‘Lead me from unreality to reality,  
From darkness to light,  
From death to immortality.’”

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#### GOLD AND SILVER WARES OF ASSAM.\*

Speaking generally, the gold and silver wares of the province of Assam consist of articles of personal adornment, though here and there other objects are manufactured. Manipur produces a few gold and silver cups, hookahs, etc., these being principally used by the royal family of the State; Sylhet turns out occasional silver vases for “atar,” silver sprinklers for rose-water, silver buttons, jugs, and so on; but few of these things show any artistic design. On the other hand, Assam jewellery

\* “The Gold and Silver Wares of Assam.” A monograph. By F. C. Henniker, I.C.S. One shilling. 1905.

is far from lacking in merit, though displaying a crudeness often traceable in Eastern productions of that class, while the precious stones used are neither very precious nor very well cut. But the work is eminently quaint and characteristic. The gold, too, is of a high degree of purity, for the Assamese goldsmiths' customers would not be satisfied with 14-carat or even 18-carat gold.

The number of people employed in the manufacture or sale of gold and silver ornaments, together with their dependents, was nearly 15,000 in 1901, or roughly  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. of the population. Forhat, in the Sibsazar district, is the chief place for the manufacture of purely Assamese jewellery, and the speciality of the Jorhat workmen is their enamelling. The enamel is usually of three kinds—a dark blue, dark green, and white, but red and yellow are also sometimes used. It comes from Calcutta in blocks, exactly like glass slag in appearance. The finished ornament usually shows narrow threads of gold arranged in fanciful patterns in the body of the enamel. These are formed of wire, and are laid on before the enamel.

Among the chief articles in which enamel forms the main decorative feature are :

1. *Gejera*.—A boat-shaped shell of gold, suspended from a necklace of coral and gold beads. One side is enamelled, while the back is engraved gold, and the inside is filled with lac. Price, Rs. 80 to Rs. 100.

2. *Thuria*.—A pair of ear ornaments for women in the shape of small cylinders, one extremity of each expanding into a kind of flower, often ornamented with stones, and the sides enamelled. Price up to Rs. 140.

3. *Keru*.—Very similar to the above, but smaller. Price about Rs. 40.

4. *Biri*.—A cask-shaped locket, attached usually to a necklace. One side is enamelled, the other either plain or set with false rubies. Those worn by men cost Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 ; those worn by women are larger, and cost from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100.

5. *Dugdugi*.—A heart-shaped pendant for a necklace, very graceful in form, and usually tastefully decorated with an elaborate gold-wire pattern set in the enamel, the other side being usually set with stones.

Besides the above enamelled ornaments, a detailed list of necklaces of many patterns is given by Mr. Henniker, some with pendants set with rubies and emeralds, strings of small gold and coral beads with pendants, and a notably artistic trinket—a gold chain, on which are slung filagree drum-shaped caskets. The work is described as very handsome. It must be borne in mind, though, nowhere, as a rule, does the goldsmith ordinarily keep a stock of wares ready for sale; he only makes articles to order, and the customer usually supplies the materials required.

It is said that the trade is declining, fewer articles of jewellery being ordered nowadays. Mr. Henniker remarks with truth that it would be a great pity if this characteristic and interesting industry should die out.

Sylhet has actually the largest number of persons dependent on the trade, and considerable skill is shown in embossing and chasing gold and silver vases, cups, and trays. Gold riband is sometimes plaited with ivory, making a pretty and artistic fan. The Khasias produce articles of a pattern peculiar to themselves, and quite different from anything else in the province. The local chiefs and women wear on State occasions gorgeous necklaces of large gold and coral beads, and at the annual dance the performers wear elaborate silver coronets, with a peak at the back, and a tassel at the end of a long rope hanging behind, all of silver.

On the whole, Assam jewellery is described as so different from anything else that it is difficult to obtain a good idea of it without a picture or seeing the original. A small exhibition was held in Shillong in June, 1904, and the collection was extremely attractive, and many of the articles for sale found ready purchasers. We entertain a hope that Mr. Henniker's descriptions will arouse a general

interest in the products of this attractive industry.—  
C. E. D. B.

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Another work of a similar character deals with the gold and silver ware of the United Provinces.\* It appears that, though some of the gold is collected by washing the auriferous sands of small rivers in Bijnor, the greater part is obtained by importation. No silver at all is produced in the provinces. The amount of these imports and exports is very uncertain, for precise statistics appear to be wanting; but such figures as are forthcoming from the Department of Land Records and Agriculture indicate that in the last three years about 19,000,000 ounces of silver were absorbed in the provinces. This came in the shape of bars, ingots, and coin not in currency, all being handed over to the *sunars*, or working jewellers, to convert into ornaments. From this it is possible to form a rough notion of the enormous amount of bullion which from time immemorial has been absorbed in these provinces alone.

Among the more interesting objects of manufacture are vessels of mixed metal (zinc and copper), plated or damascened with patterns of silver; "diamond-cut" work, where facets are cut on the metal like those on a diamond; enamels and toys, such as the silver representations of rats, peacocks, wild boars, antelopes, and the flexible fish, which form such characteristic items when worn on chatelaines. Silver articles such as tea-sets, toilet-sets, vases, bowls, salt-cellars, etc., are turned out in great numbers for sale to Europeans, Lucknow being the chief place of manufacture for these. There are also large quantities of ornaments of various patterns and characters worn by the natives round the neck, arms, ankles, and on the fingers, ears, nose, etc. Many of these are elegant and artistic, as may be seen from the photographs to Mr. Charles's work.

With regard to the moot question of designs, the author

\* "A Monograph on Gold and Silver Ware produced in the United Provinces," by A. P. Charles, Esq., B.A., I.C.S. Allahabad, 1905.



acknowledges that originality is not in demand, and almost absent. He agrees with Mr. Baden Powell, author of "Punjab Manufactures," and other authorities, that something might be done by art education towards improving the crudeness and more obvious blemishes of the work. Without the establishment of schools of design throughout the country art can scarcely be expected to make material progress.—C. E. D. B.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Government of Bombay, General Department—Archæology: Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India for the Year ending June 30, 1905.* This interesting report is divided into two parts. The first contains an account of work at headquarters, publications, library, annual expenditure, treasure-trove, museums at various places, and programme for 1905-1906. The second part relates to Rāpputānā, Central Provinces, and Berār, Bombay Presidency, and details of the Assistant Archæological Surveyor's tour in Rajputānā.

*Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle, for the Year ending April, 1905.* (Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1905.) The report is divided into two parts, the first consisting of departmental notes and the second general remarks. The survey has been partly in Assam and the remainder in Bengal.

*Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Panjab and United Provinces Circle, for the Year ending March 31, 1905.* (Economical Press, Lahore.) The report is divided into two parts, Part I. containing a report of the Annual Progress; Statement of Expenditure; List of Inscriptions, Photographs, and Drawings, copied, taken, or made. Part II.: Preservation of Ancient Monuments; Excavations at Kasia; Epi-

graphy; Acquisitions for the Lahore and Lucknow Museums; and List of Publications issued.

*Notes on India for Missionary Students.* (Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, London, E.C., 1905.) A very handy and useful work for students preparing for Christian work in India. It contains, in a brief form, statements as to the country, its races, languages, religions, population, missions of various kinds, also good maps, and an excellent index.

*Report on Archæological Work in Burma for the Year 1904-1905.* (Rangoon: Government Printing Office.) The report is divided into two parts, with subsections in each. Part I. gives details of programme carried out and of that proposed next year. Part II.: A report of the works of restoration and preservation of important buildings, and sites of excavations and fresh discoveries. Under Section 2 of this part there are the plans of Halingyi, Kalagôn, Payagôn, or ruins of a pagoda, and Lamayangyi. There are also numerous appendices, containing, amongst others, lists of buildings of archæological, historical, or architectural interest to be maintained, either by the Public Works Department or the Government.

*Śrī Brahma Dhārā* ("Shower from the Highest") *through the Favour of the Mahatma Śrī Agamya Guru Paramahansa.* (Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, 1905.) The writer of the preface of this work—nearly 100 pages—considers that it "is unique in its character, for the reason that no Hindu of his class and high rank has ever before sought to teach the Western world." In it "lies the thread for the enlightened to take up if they wish to follow in his path" (p.v.).

*Indian Love*, by LAURENCE HOPE, author of "The Garden of Kama," "Stars of the Desert." (London: William Heinemann; New York, John Lane, 1905.)

*Japan Year-Book.* First year edition. The "Japan Year-Book" Office, Tsukiji, Tokyo, Japan, 1905. The compilers of this book, under various difficulties, have col-

lected together, for the first time, a year-book full of information to travellers—those in commerce and those interested in diplomatic relations. The compilers are all natives, and have done their work well. The volume contains geographical information, population, Imperial Court, various departments of local administration, finances, banks, forestry and fishery, manufacturing industry, foreign trade, exports and imports, railways, education, religions, the army and navy, a very interesting biographical sketch of the contemporary worthies of Japan, and the press. There is also useful information about Formosa and Corea, and a full index to the whole volume, and a table of weights, measures, and monies (Japan and Great Britain). The second year's edition is expected to be published in May next.

*Climate*, October, 1905. A Quarterly Journal of Health and Travel, edited by CHARLES P. HORFORD, M.A., M.D. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, London, E.) This is the final issue of *Climate* in its present form. It is now incorporated with the *Journal of Tropical Medicine*. That Journal, in order to meet the special requirements of the readers of *Climate*, will give four issues a year specially devoted to the aims and objects of *Climate*. The publishers are Messrs. John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson, Ltd., 83-91, Great Titchfield Street, London, W.

*Grammaire Minima de l'Hébreu et de l'Araméen Bibliques*, par EDOUARD MONTET, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Genève. Deuxième édition. (Librairie Orientale et Américaine, E. Guilmoto, Éditeur, 6, Rue de Mézières, Paris, 1905.) This manual will be very helpful to those students who have attended the course of lectures of the learned professor. In it is given the general principles of Hebrew and Aramean Biblical languages from a Semitic point of view, of which a correct idea cannot be formed unless looked at as a Semite, who speaks them. The author, in order to make the manual as simple and as brief as possible, has introduced some modifications

in vocalization and with regard to syntax. He has kept to Biblical examples, but sometimes has departed from this rule, when a clear explanation was needed for the conjugation of a difficult Aramean verb.

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We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Captain*, *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—*Technics*, a magazine for technical students;—*A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney;—*C. B. Fry's Magazine*;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals Defender* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.);—

*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala : Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London : Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris : Rue Bonaparte 19);—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*The British Empire Review*, the organ of the British Empire League, a non-partisan monthly magazine for readers interested in Imperial and Colonial affairs and literature (The British Empire League, 112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. v., Nos. 1-2 (Hanoi : F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1905);—*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras);—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), August, September, and October, 1905 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras);—*The Christian Patriot* (the M. E. Press, Mount Road, Madras);—*Journal of the Moslem Institute*, a quarterly chiefly devoted to subjects of Oriental interest (Calcutta, No. 1);—*Business Magazine* (Toronto);—*Documents Inédits*, pour servir à l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient, publiés par le Père Antoine Rabbath, de la Compagnie de Jésus, vol. i. (Luzac and Co.,

46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.) ;—*Malabar Daily News*, a morning and evening newspaper (Kottayam : P. Jacob Pothan, *Malabar Daily News* Publishing House).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works : *The Great Plateau* : being an account of exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905, by Captain C. G. Rawling (London : Edward Arnold, 41 and 43, Maddox Street, Bond Street, 1905) ;—*A Tropical Dependency* : an outline of the ancient history of the Western Soudan, with an account of the modern settlement of Northern Nigeria, by Flora L. Shaw (Lady Lugard), (London : James Nisbet and Co., Ltd., 21, Berners Street, 1905) ;—*The Maintenance of Health in the Tropics*, by W. J. Simpson, M.D., F.R.C.P. (John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson, Ltd., Oxford House, 83-91, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W.) ;—Part I. of the *Tadhkiratu 'L-Awliyá* ("Memoirs of the Saints"), edited by Reynold A. Nicholson, M.A. (Luzac and Co., 1905) ;—*Colonial Administration*, by Paul S. Reinsch (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1905) ;—*Judah Haller's Kitab Al Khazari*, translated from the Arabic, with an introduction, by Hartwig Hirschfeld, PH.D. (London : George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1905) ;—*Shinto* ("The Way of the Gods"), by W. G. Aston, C.M.G., D.LIT. (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1905) ;—*Everyday Life among the Stead-Hunters, and other Experiences from East to West*, by Dorothy Caton (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, 1905) ;—*British East Africa : Past, Present, and Future*, by Lord Hindlip, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. (London : T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, 1905) ;—*Rifle and Romance in the Indian Jungle* : a record of thirteen years, by Captain A. I. R. Glasfurd (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, and New York) ;—*Swami Vivekananda* : a collection of his speeches and writings (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras) ;—*Bushido* :



*the Soul of Japan*, by Inazo Nitobe, A.M., PH.D. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 24, Bedford Street, London, 1905, and New York);—*The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate—Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia—from the Moslem Conquest to the time of Timur*, by G. Le Strange (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1905); *The Bábar-Náma*: being the autobiography of the Emperor Bábar, the founder of the Moghul Dynasty in India, written in Chaghatáy Turkish, now reproduced in facsimile from a manuscript belonging to the late Sir Sálár Jang, of Haydarábád, and edited with a preface and indexes, by Annette S. Beveridge ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" series, vol. ii.) (London: Bernard Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly; Leyden: E. J. Brill, Imprimerie Orientale, 1905).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales arrived at Bombay on November 9, where Lord Curzon, the retiring Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay, met them. A most loyal and enthusiastic welcome was given to them by all classes. Their Royal Highnesses were fully occupied—receptions held for native princes, return visits paid, addresses in many languages received. The Princess was most enthusiastically welcomed on the part of the Indian ladies. The programme pre-arranged for them was as follows: Indore, November 15; Udaipur, 18; Jaipur, 21; Bikanir, 24; Lahore, 28; Peshawar, December 2; Manœuvres, near Rawal Pindi, 5; Jammu, 9; Amritsar, 11; Delhi, 12; Agra, 16; Gwalior, 20; Lucknow, 26; Calcutta, 20; Darjeeling, January 7; Calcutta, 9; on board ship, 10; Rangoon, 16; on river, 19; Rangoon, 21; on board ship, 22; Madras, 24; Maisur, 29; Bangalore, February 5; Haidarabad, 8; in train, 16; Ellora, 17; Benares, 19; Nepal; Aligarh; Simla, March 7; in train, 10; Quetta, 12; Karachi, 17; departure from Karachi, 19.

On November 14 they arrived at Indore, where they were received by the Maharaja Holkar, the Begam of Bhopal, and a gathering of the principal ruling chiefs of Central India.

The next halting-place was Jaipur, where a darbar was held in the Maharaja's palace. On the 18th Udaipur in Rajputana was reached. Bikanir and Lucknow were consecutively visited, and Peshawar on Saturday, December 2. Here a reception of the Border Chiefs took place.

His Highness the Aga Khan of Bombay proceeded on a tour, which comprises Zanzibar and Mombasa. Thence along the line to the Lake, and may return to India by Khartum and Cairo.

The Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, K.C.M.G., Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal, has been appointed Governor of Madras, in succession to Lord Ampthill, G.C.S.I.

Sir Henry Rawlinson will consult with Lord Kitchener in regard to the working of the Indian Staff College.

Major-General Scott has been appointed the new supply member. The Hon. Sir C. L. Tupper, B.A., etc., has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David William Keith Barr, K.C.S., has been appointed a member of the Council of India in the place of Sir C. H. T. Crosthwaite, K.C.S.I., whose term of office has expired.

The following gentlemen have been nominated as additional members: Mr. Stanley Ismay, C.S.I., I.C.S.; Mr. William Thomas Hall, B.A., LL.B., C.S.I., I.C.S.; Mr. Alexander Cochrane Logan, I.C.B., and the Nawab Bahadur Khwajah Salimullah of Dacca.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—Soldiers belonging to the Waziristan Militia fell into an ambush in the TOCHI VALLEY. Two men were killed and two wounded. Ilindin, the notorious outlaw, headed the raiders.

The two brothers at DIR, who have so long been at enmity, have decided to live at peace with each other.

Captain J. W. E. Donaldson, R.A., was attacked by a *ghazi* at the frontier post of BANNU, and shot dead. The assailant was captured.

The British trade agent at the new mart at Gartok, in TIBET, reports that the total trade between India and Western Tibet during the past summer amounted to 12 lacs of rupees.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—Almost the whole town of Baramula in KASHMIR has been burnt down. The damage being estimated at 8 lacs.

MAISUR.—The Representative Assembly met in October last. The President stated in his speech that the income amounted to Rs. 216,10,486, and the expenditure to Rs. 216,84,799. The Budget estimates for the current

official year are for receipts Rs. 227,43,000, and the expenditure Rs. 213,40,000.

Sir Uyyen Wang Chuk, the Tongsa Penlop of BHUTAN, has been invited by the Government to be present in Calcutta during the Royal visit.

BURMA.—The following gentlemen have been appointed to be members of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor : Mr. F. G. Gates, I.C.S., Chief Secretary of the Government; Mr. H. W. V. Colebrook, M.Inst.C.E., Secretary to Government, and Chief Engineer Public Works Department; Mr. R. S. Giles, Barrister-at-Law, Government Advocate; Mr. J. P. Hoy; and Maung Ba Tu.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES.—According to the official report for the year 1904, progress and prosperity continue.

Sir J. Anderson, the Governor of the Straits Settlements, is about to take over the administration of LABUAN.

CEYLON.—The new mineral, thorianite, lately discovered by the Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon, has created much excitement and speculation in the colony.

The new Session of the Legislative Council was opened on November 14.

The financial position of the Colony is good. The revenue of 1906 is estimated at Rs. 31,059,300, and the ordinary expenditure at Rs. 28,739,000. The sum available for Extraordinary Public Works is estimated at Rs. 7,000,000. Of this, it is proposed to appropriate Rs. 2,500,000 for new Public Works and Irrigation Works, and Rs. 1,478,000 for special Railway Services, besides reserving Rs. 1,500,000 for the Negombo Railway. The salaries of practically all classes of public servants are proposed to be increased by nearly Rs. 500,000 per annum.

AFGHANISTAN.—There was a marked increase of trade between this county and India during 1905.

The Afghans report that the Russians have bridged the Oxus between Karki and Khwājah Sālār.

TURKEY IN ASIA: YEMEN.—Large reinforcements were sent via Hodeida, under General Amin Pasha, for the Azir

district. Marshal Faizi Pasha reported that the towns of Aoran, Tajila, and Kankaban have surrendered. The situation has so much improved that 14,000 troops have been sent back to Syria, and the Sultan has decorated the Commander-in-Chief for his great services in suppressing the revolt.

The Haifa branch of the Turkish Hedjaz Railway was opened in October last. The entire line from Damascus to the Hedjaz is expected to be completed in about three years hence.

**RUSSIA IN ASIA: TRANSBAKALIA.**—Many cases of bubonic plague have occurred near the Datal-Nor Lake.

**JAPAN.**—As the result of the Treaty of Peace becoming known, upwards of forty memorials were received condemning the same, and urging a refusal to ratify it were sent to the Throne. The treaty was ratified by the Emperor of Russia and the Mikado on October 14 by the appending of their signatures to duplicate copies, thus officially terminating the war. The country has, by the skill of its commanders and devotion of the army, obtained generally its object—viz., the evacuation of Manchuria and a predominant influence in Korea. According to an agreement recently drawn up with Korea, the control of the country passes to the hands of Japan, the Japanese agreeing to maintain the sovereign rights and honour of the Korean Emperor and family.

Notwithstanding the war, the total trade for 1904 amounted to £69,062,000, against £60,663,000 in 1903. This result has been attributed mainly to an extraordinary rice harvest. A new agreement has been signed with Great Britain, renewing the earlier one of January, 1902 (see the text of this agreement elsewhere in our pages). Its objects are: The consolidation of general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and India, the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the open door, the defence of the interests of both countries as distinct from those of other nations, and the paramouncy of Japan in Korea.

The Legation of Great Britain in Tokyo has been raised to that of an Embassy, and Sir Claude Macdonald, K.C.M.G., has been appointed Ambassador.

According to the official report, the total losses sustained during the war was 218,429 killed and wounded, and 221,136 sick.

CHINA.—The Hongkong Government has lent the Government a million sterling, to enable it to acquire the American rights in the Canton-Hankow Railway.

The Viceroy of Szechuan is about to open to foreign trade the Yangtse River port of Wanh sien, the future terminus of the Hupeh-Szechuan Railway.

Five American missionaries have been murdered at Lien-chau.

Wing Ta Sieh has been appointed Chinese Ambassador at the Court of St. James's.

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN: THE BUDGET.—The revenue for 1906 is estimated at £14,500,000, and the ordinary expenditure at £12,317,000, and £683,000 set down for special expenses, leaving a surplus of £500,000. A total reduction of taxation, estimated at £332,000, is made up as follows: A 4 per cent. reduction of the duties on coal, sheep, etc., £118,000; abolition of the salt monopoly, £175,000; sea fishing and ferry dues, £7,000; Red Sea lighthouse dues, £30,000.

In recognition of his valuable services to the State, the Government has presented the sum of £15,000 to Sir W. F. Garstin, its adviser for Public Works.

Lord Edward Cecil has been appointed Joint Under-Secretary of State for Finance, Serhant Pasha succeeding Lord Cecil as Under-Secretary for War.

Through the taking fire and sinking of the British steamer *Chatham*, laden with petroleum, in the Canal near Port Said, much inconvenience and delay to traffic occurred. The ship had to be blown up, and for many days traffic was entirely suspended.

Cattle plague has broken out in the Sudan and



several veterinary inspectors have been sent there with serum.

AFRICA: SOMALILAND PROTECTORATE.—The latest official report, that for 1904-1905, shows that there was a decrease of £4,653 in the revenue, as compared with that of 1903-1904. The commerce of Zeyla is falling off in consequence of the railway to Jibuti, and is expected to diminish still further, until trade with Harrar practically ceases.

The Somali Mulla has made friendly overtures for the opening of trade with Berbera.

AFRICA: EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA PROTECTORATE.—The Nandi tribe have again been giving trouble by making raids and killing people on the railway. Their country is difficult for operations, but a strong expedition was sent, and fighting took place, with the result that the tribe lost about 600 in killed, besides 10,000 cattle, and 18,000 sheep. Our loss was trifling, no officer was killed, but our levies had forty killed and forty-eight wounded. The trouble is now over. According to the annual report of Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes Sadler for the year ended March 31 last, the Protectorate has made rapid progress. The expenditure has fallen from £186,800 in the previous year to £173,038, while the revenue has fallen from £51,474 to £59,707.

AFRICA: RHODESIA AND ZAMBESI.—Southern Rhodesia is making steady progress. The financial position of the company is satisfactory. The working capital consists of about £930,000. The estimated revenue for the current year ending next March is £518,550, and the expenditure £531,349. About £90,000 will have to be provided for the administration north of the Zambesi. It is proposed to administer both Northern and Southern Rhodesia from one centre, as being more economical, especially as the rail-head has now been carried 121 miles beyond Kaloma, and the earthworks to 205 miles.

TRANSVAAL.—In September last Lord Selborne, the High Commissioner, commenced a series of tours in the Colony,

with the object of bringing the Boer population more into touch with the Government. He was heartily received in most places. At Pretoria, in the course of a speech, his Lordship advised the union of all the South African railways, both main and branch, and including that to Lorenzo Marques. The Cape and Natal Governments are favourably inclined, and the Inter-Colonial Council is endeavouring to arrange the undertaking.

The output of gold for the year 1904-1905 was valued at £18,420,644, and diamonds at £1,118,727. The total exports amounted to £20,670,720.

The distribution of the payment of £3,000,000 in accordance with the Vereeniging Treaty, has taken place.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The revenue for 1904 amounted to £786,049, and the expenditure to £780,535.

The value of the exports during the year ended June 30 last amounted to £2,263,925. The imports of same period to £3,251,098.

CAPE COLONY.—The De Aar-Prieska Railway was opened last September by Mr. Smartt.

Irrigation works on the Gamtoos River were destroyed by floods.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA: NIGERIA.—The negotiations between France and Great Britain with regard to Anglo-French boundaries in NORTHERN NIGERIA will shortly be resumed, including that of Zinder.

Some fighting has taken place on the Ethiopie River with the Kwale tribe. The natives lost 103 killed; on our side three white men were wounded, and a few levies killed. A second expedition under Colonel Montanaro proceeded up the same river and met with complete success; the troops thereupon returned to Lagos.

VICTORIA.—Mr. Bent, the State Treasurer, delivered his budget statement in October last. The revenue for the past year amounted to £7,509,000, and the expenditure to £6,982,000, leaving a surplus of £527,000. He estimated

the revenue for the coming year at £7,145,000, and the expenditure at £7,133,000.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—It is reported that a sum of £2,000 for assisting immigration has been voted by Parliament by a large majority, against strenuous opposition on the part of the Labour party. The Agent-General is negotiating with the steamship companies for co-operation in stimulating the flow of immigration to the State.

The rains which fell during last September have insured a good spring and a good butter harvest.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The Taxation Bill has been laid aside, owing to the disagreement between the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly as regards the proposed progressive land-tax.

The next Federal elections will be fought on the Tariff issue.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The Parliamentary elections which took place last October resulted in the return of thirty-four Ministerialists, thirteen Labour, and one Independent Labour member.

The gold exported during the first ten months of 1905 amounted to 1,629,976 ounces, and the mining dividends for that period to £1,887,533. The total dividends amounted to £13,459,736.

Mr. Quinlan has been elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

CANADA.—The revenue for the fiscal year ended June 30 last amounted to \$71,180,036, and the expenditure to \$63,309,305, leaving a surplus of \$7,871,321. The expenditure on capital account for the year was \$15,414,400, an increase of \$4,500,000.

Mr. A. B. Aylesworth, K.C., has been sworn in as Dominion Postmaster-General.

BRITISH GUIANA.—A serious riot, owing to a strike of wharfingers, has occurred in Georgetown. The mob, on attacking the Governor's house, was fired upon, and several killed and wounded.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following :—Major-General Dixon Henry Hoste (Crimea, Fenian raid, 1866) ;—Arthur Randall Earle Liddbetter, B.A., Government Chaplain at Thayetmyo, Burma ;—Colonel Frank Rhodes, C.B., D.S.O., at Cape Town (Sudan campaign 1887, Nile expedition, Suakin 1888, Military Secretary to Governor of Bombay, Mission to Uganda, Jameson raid, Matabele insurrection, Khartum expedition (*Times* correspondent) 1898, besieged in Ladysmith ;—Major-General F. E. Edward Wilson, C.B., late York and Lancaster Regiment (Egyptian campaign 1882) ;—Commissary-General Arthur William Downes, C.B. (Crimea, China expeditionary force 1857-59) ;—The Very Rev. DeBertt Hovell, Dean of Wacapu, N.Z. ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Atholl Nesbitt, C.B. (Kafir 1878-79, Basuto rebellion 1880-82, last South African war) ;—His Highness the Thakor Sahib of Palitana, Sir Mansinghji K.C.S.I. ;—Captain Joseph Wiggins, the opener of the present open highway within the Arctic Circle, and re-establisher of a sea route for Siberian produce to Europe ;—Captain J. F. R. Aylen, R.N. (Arctic relief expedition 1849-50, China war 1860, Abyssinia 1868) ;—Dowager Lady Āsmān Jāh, sister of His Highness the Nizam of Haidarabad ;—Captain Sir Donald Stewart, K.C.M.G., Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief British East Africa Protectorate (Boer war 1881, Sudan campaign 1885, Ashanti war 1895-96) ;—Sir Frederick Cleeve, K.C.B., R.N. (Black Sea 1854-56) ;—Major-General Robert Thomas Leigh, late Indian Staff Corps (Sutlej campaign 1845, Mutiny suppression 1857-58) ;—Lieutenant-General T. Lamb, formerly Bengal Native Infantry ;—Lieutenant-Colonel E. M. Forbes (Bhutan expedition 1864-65, Afghan war 1879) ;—Sir George Berkeley, formerly Colonial Secretary and Controller of Customs in Honduras, and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of St. Vincent, Acting Administrator of Lagos, and Governor of West African Settlements consecutively ;—Colonel Arthur James Poole, C.B. (China war 1860,

Afghanistan 1878-80, Burmese expedition 1886);—Colonel W. Livesay, of the old 43rd Light Infantry (Mutiny and New Zealand campaigns);—Sir William Willis, late Accountant-General of the Navy during Crimean campaign (Mutiny, China, Cape, Abyssinian, and New Zealand wars);—Mr. W. D. Cowley, Deputy Accountant-General;—Colonel Sir Charles Henry Leslie, c.b., formerly of the Indian Staff Corps, and Colonel-Commandant 2nd battalion 4th Ghurkas (Chin-Lushai, Manipur, Chitral relief, and Tirah expeditions);—Mr. Arthur Douglass, Commissioner Public Works in the Cape Parliament (Kafir war 1878, Morosi campaign 1879, and Boer war);—Major J. M. M. Hewett, late 62nd Regiment (Sutlej campaign 1845-46);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. J. Shuldham, retired, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Burmese campaign 1852-53, Crimea);—Major-General James Sebastian Rawlins, formerly 1st Ghurka Light Infantry (Sikh campaign 1845-46, Burmese war 1862-53, Mutiny, Bhutan, and Hazara expeditions 1866-68);—Major John Barnett Walker, formerly 5th Fusiliers (Mutiny);—Captain Osmond Beckitt Simpson, Royal West Kent Regiment (Tochi field force 1897-98, Malakand and Buner field forces, and Tirah expedition);—Major-General Richard Wellesley Chambers (Sutlej campaign 1845-46);—Sir Bryan-O'Loughlen, formerly Attorney-General and Premier of Victoria;—Mr. Christopher Robinson, k.c., one of the leaders of the Canadian Bar;—Dr. William Carr Sprague, formerly Indian Medical Service (Bombay);—Sir Michael R. de Quadros, Knight Commander of the Orders of Christ and Immaculate Conception, etc., for some time Portuguese Consul at Bombay;—Sir Augustus Adderley, k.c.m.g., formerly member of the House of Assembly (Bahamas);—General Philip Gosset Pipon, c.b., Colonel-Commandant Royal Artillery (Eastern campaign 1854-55);—Tahillasm Kemchand, c.i.e., a well-known lawyer and President of the Karachi Municipality;—Major-General A. Tulloch, late Bengal Staff Corps (posted to the 58th Bengal N.I. in 1848, Mutiny and Naga campaigns);

—Colonel E. T. Pottinger, C.M.G., Bombay Artillery (North-West Frontier campaign 1859-60, South African war);—Colonel T. Weldon, C.I.E., posted 42nd Madras N.I. 1854 (Mutiny campaign);—Colonel W. Campbell MacDougall, late Bengal Staff Corps (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. G. F. Siddons, R.A., retired (Burma expedition 1885-89);—The Hon. Emanuel Raphael Belilios, C.M.G., merchant, and member of the Legislative Council of the Colony of Hongkong;—Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel J. T. Sterling, Coldstream Guards (formerly A.D.C. to Governor of Hongkong, served in South African war);—Captain Richard Hastings Harington, R.N. (China 1850, Black Sea and Baltic 1854);—Mr. Want, K.C., a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council;—Lieutenant-Colonel H. J. Faircloth (Mutiny, Afghan war 1878-79);—Staff Veterinary-Surgeon Alfred Job Owles (Crimea and Mutiny);—Captain Graham Young (Crimea, Shah's service, and afterwards in the Indian Forest Department);—Mr. James Gray, Professor of Pali at the Rangoon College;—The Right Honourable Sir Richard Crouch, P.C. (formerly Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta);—Rev. Dr. Robert H. Warday, General Agent of the Presbyterian Church and one of the best known Canadian Divines at Toronto;—Dr. J. F. Stewart, killed by natives in Southern Nigeria (South African war as Civil Surgeon);—Major-General T. J. Watson, late Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny, Bhutan expedition 1864, Jowaki Afridi expedition 1877-78, Afghan war 1879-80);—Fleet-Paymaster Frederick Le Breton Bedwell, R.N. (attached to Lord Elgin's Embassy to China and Japan 1860-61);—Sir Lionel Eldred Smith-Gordon (Crimea, Mutiny).

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CIVIC LIFE IN INDIA.\*

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THE average life of a citizen is made up of so many strands intertwined with one another, that it is useful occasionally to isolate one of them and examine it. We shall thus discover its strength or its weakness, and ascertain what strain it is undergoing under the stress of social forces operating on it, how it responds to that strain, and what can be done to render it more efficient as a binding force in organized society. The strand which we are now about to examine is that which knits municipal life together in India.

Some observers would doubt whether there is any active civic life in India. They fix their gaze on the predominating factor in the government of the country, the factor which has moulded its history for centuries past. That has always taken the shape of a central Government, responsible only to its own conscience and to religious and moral sanctions for its policy and conduct. When these were dormant we had government of the most arbitrary and brutal type. When these were active we had an administration of the most beneficent and enlightened kind. But in either case there was no continuous growth of institutions, no evolution of the people guided by ideals which, whether successful or not at any given stage, supplied the motive power in the lives of communities. The people, as a factor in the commonwealth, were, for all practical purposes, neglected.

\* For discussion on this paper see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this Review.

It is true that the people (or realm, in Bühler's translation\*) were one of the seven estates composing the commonwealth, as described by Manu. The father of Hindu polity enumerates those seven estates as the king, his minister, his metropolis, his people, his treasury, his army, and his ally. These have a sort of mystic union—*septem juncta in uno*. For, though the gravity to the commonwealth of the harm done to any of these estates is in the order in which they are named, it must not be supposed that any of these are of less importance than any of the others, so long as they fulfil their functions in the complex institution called the State. This noble conception of Manu is of the highest importance in dealing with the germs of Hindu political ideas; and yet its practical working-out is most disappointing, even in Manu. We have the amplest maxims for the king's life and policy; we have far-reaching regulations about the individual's life, ritual, and conduct; we have also full details about the constitution, history, rights, and privileges of the several castes and classes; but we look in vain for a definition of the rights and privileges of the people as a whole, as an estate of the commonwealth.

The conception was developed no further in Mohammedan India. Mohammedan polity started in the land of its birth on a thoroughly democratic basis. In the history of cities like Baghdád we have faint glimpses of the devolution of power from the central to the local authority, or, rather, a group of local authorities. But the circumstances of India prevented these tendencies from bearing any practical fruit. That the idea, however, was not entirely dead will appear from an interesting exposition of the Kotwál's duties in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.† Abul Fazl's qualification for a Kotwál might well be taken to heart by the Municipal Commissioners of modern India. The Kotwál, then, should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute and humane. Further, he should keep a

\* Manu, ix., 294-297, "Sacred Books of the East."

† "Bibliotheca Indica," vol. lxi., part ii., p. 41 (Book iii., *Ain* 4).

register of houses and frequented roads, *engage the citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance, and bind them to a common participation in weal and woe.* Here is an excellent summary of the creed of municipal government. But the idea never took root, and, in the unstable history of more than two centuries after Akbar, the music of the soul of human society, ever striving to express itself in the growth of ethical ideas and concerted action, was subdued in the martial clang of internecine warfare.

What about the village institutions? Did they not embody and keep alive the civic ideal? To this my answer is only a qualified "Yes." In the ideal village all the ranks and castes were graded, and each had its function and purpose in life. Every individual, so long as he fitted himself into the scheme, had an important status in his own sphere. He had a voice in many of the ordinances which affected his interests, though such ordinances were usually the crystallized product of the opinions and experiences of ages and generations of men, rather than frequent experiments in the gradual evolution of the village community. But all this was possible because the village was an association of men who knew each other intimately, and saw each other's daily lives. The failure of any member to fulfil the duties expected of him resulted in his immediate ostracism in the society. He lost the protection of his commune and all the rights and privileges attaching to his station. Duty, as so understood, may be summed up in the formula: "Do this, or the village visits its wrath on you." In contrast to this, my conception of civic duty, the conception which would entitle a man to boast of being a "citizen of no mean city," goes beyond this. The penal scheme, no doubt, does affect, if only unconsciously, the life of the most refined and high-thinking citizen. But in the main it is now restricted to a narrow circle of actions which come within the purview of criminal law or of municipal bye-laws. My advanced citizen is governed, in his civic acts and ideals, by considerations like the following. "I am," he thinks,

"more fortunately circumstanced than some of my fellows in the community. I have better education, a more refined up-bringing, more opportunities of travel, more wealth, a higher position, or more talent than some of those I see around me. Can I use these for the benefit of the less fortunate? Can they be brought to see things from the higher standpoint? Will it not strengthen the community as a whole, and therefore me as an individual member, if the laggards can be made to march abreast of the active members, if the obstruction which stands in their way be removed, so that everyone is able to make the best of himself, to his own benefit and the benefit of the community? Again, there are other members of the community who are somewhat similarly placed in respect of some of these advantages to myself. Will not the union of our efforts and resources produce a higher aggregate result in material and moral advancement than when some of the energy is wasted in individual and unco-ordinated endeavour? Again, I see some persons better endowed than myself. In so far as it is in my power, is it not my duty to aim at bettering myself, not for personal aggrandizement or self-glory, but because the pursuit of the higher is the highest ideal, for myself individually and for the community at large?" In such musings the individual is sunk in the community. If we must have a tangible formula embodying the incentive to such conduct, it would be: "If I do this, it will mean increased good to myself and community." The hope of reward in its highest form here takes the place of the fear of punishments.

The prevailing notion that the ancient Indian village was based on communistic ideas of property and life is, I think, incorrect. The boundaries of a family are necessarily wider in an early than in a later stage of society. That being so, the unit which society recognises for purposes of ownership and possession is also wider and more indefinite. In movable property, however, we find nothing to justify us in inferring that anything like com-

munistic ideas existed. In regard to land, the fact that periodical redistributions of land took place, and that no exclusive and permanent rights were recognised in individuals, has led to the reasoning that the property was joint. But perhaps it would be truer to say that no property in land was recognised at all, whether in the individual or in the community. Land was treated as a free gift of Nature, like light, or air, or the water of a river. As long as the population was scanty, and the quantity of land appeared unlimited, there was no occasion to create well-defined rights of property. When the demand first began to outstrip the supply, the rights which were earliest recognised were rights of cultivation or pasturage, or, to speak generally, rights of temporary possession. These were regulated by many provisions of customary law, designed, no doubt, for the common good, or for the good of the lord or chief, in the same way that an individual's private conduct was similarly regulated. A conquering chief parcelled out the land among his kinsmen or retainers in the same way as he might detail his sentinels on duty at different posts, or assign different offices or functions to different members of his household. Here the question would not be one of property in the individuals, the community, or the chief, but rather one of discipline and organization.

Nor was life in the village community based on communistic ideas. Equality among all the members was the last thing that would have occurred to a philosopher of the times, or been recognised by anyone in touch with the actual government of the village. There was a splendid system of subdivision of labour, and a thorough understanding between the different classes into which the community was divided. The organization was perfect; it promoted the greatest efficiency with the least waste of energies; the greatest peace, concord, and contentment with the least inducements to luxury or crime. It may be one form of the millennium dreamed of by the framers of

fancy republics, but it is not communism. The bed-rock of the communistic principle is equality of enjoyment for all members, coupled with an equality of responsibility for the well-being of the whole society. The fundamental basis of village life in its palmiest days was the due subordination of castes and classes to a scheme which was nowhere, and at no time, worked out with feudal precision, but which acquired strength or weakness according to the amount of resistance which village institutions were called on to exert in antagonism to a strong or weak central and military power. The village had no military organization or history, but it had marvellous powers of passive resistance. And its relation to the central power was not usually that of branches that supply nourishment to a tree, or that of a large number of tiny rills whose flow goes towards the augmentation of the strength and volume of some mighty river. On the contrary, the village community looked upon the central power much as a tree (if it could think) would look upon the parrots and mainas that feed on its fruit. There was no intolerance, and no chafing, so long as no more than customary contributions were levied but there was distinctly a feeling of aloofness, a consciousness that the structure of the village community was quite independent of the central power.

There is, therefore, no paradox in the fact that the most beautifully organized structure of the village community led to no advance in civic life—the life that uses the experience and organization of local communities for the formation, development, and support of the wider and more human conception of the State. Nor have any of the modern representative institutions of India any historical affinity with village institutions. The trade guilds of the towns and the *panchayets* of the castes were the institutions that most familiarized the plebeian portion of the population with the practical details of concerted action. The higher castes are, and have always been, comparatively weak in the matter of organization and combination



for worldly ends. The history of the Indian trade guild and of the *panchayet*—if it could be written—would furnish some of the most fascinating chapters in the annals of India; but unfortunately there are no materials (whether in the forms of records, grants, charters, or accounts) on which even the meagre outlines of a reasoned history can be based. The Mir Mohalla ("alderman of a ward" would be a fair translation of the term) or the Lambardar of a Mahal (shall we call him "steward of a manor"?), if and where the representative character of these functionaries was recognised and they were invested with fiscal powers, exercised a certain amount of authority in immediate touch with the people. They acted as buffers between the representatives of the central government and the people. The lump sum of taxation payable by the community which they represented was fixed after consultation with them, and they were left to apportion this among the contributories in accordance with local rights and customs. But these institutions never flourished with a lusty and vigorous growth in the directions in which their trend can be connected with the local self-government of modern India.

The growth of modern civic institutions can all be referred to the last half-century. The ideas naturally first took shape in the Presidency towns. Calcutta was the first of the towns to discuss, but Bombay was the first to adopt, the elective principle. Before this principle was adopted the city government had been carried on by means of a bench of magistrates or justices. The elective proposals of 1840 for Calcutta had to be dropped. But when Bombay took the lead in 1872 with an electorate that was practically based on household suffrage, Calcutta followed suit in 1876. The history of municipal government in those two cities has since been full of both interest and excitement. The constitution of the municipality has been altered in both cases. But it is to be noticed that in Bombay the change has been effected without much

popular excitement, while in Calcutta the revision of 1899 was attended with almost as great a measure of opposition as the more recent reconstitution of the Province of Bengal. In Bombay there has always been a large deliberative body, with a smaller managing council, while the entire executive power has vested in the municipal commissioner, who is nominated by and is in close touch with the Government. In Calcutta the executive power was until recently vested in what was considered an unwieldy body by those who applied the shears in 1899. After the advent of the plague ten years ago, a separate body, called the Bombay Improvement Trust, has been called into existence, which exercises powers independently of the corporation's control, for carrying out gigantic schemes of public improvement, such as the sweeping away of overcrowded areas, the widening of streets, and the provision of sanitary buildings for the mill hands, while the æsthetic side of a town's responsibilities was not lost sight of for a city which prides itself on the title of Bombay the Beautiful. This great scheme was due to the enthusiasm and practical sagacity of Lord Reay,\* just as the great Calcutta Improvement Scheme, which has not yet emerged from the incubatory stages, is due to the marvellous energy of Lord Curzon. In the city of Madras the elective principle was introduced in 1878, and though little of dramatic or popular interest has been heard of the recent administration of the oldest Presidency town of British India, the legislators, administrators, and people of the Southern Presidency are unanimous in claiming for Madras the title of the best and cheapest governed city in India. I wish they could add to the claim some faint allusion to the goddess of civic beauty, for her cheery smile can surely never come near the Madras *parcherries*, which for gloom and squalor would be able to give points to the much-abused *bustees* of Calcutta or Bombay.

Local government by magistrates existed in the Pre-

\* The actual scheme, however, was worked out and carried by Lord Sandhurst some years later.

sidency towns almost from their first creation as vigorous and growing communities ; it flourished until it was superseded in the seventies by representative institutions. In the Mofassil towns organized government by a magistrate and a consultative council began in 1850, with an Act respecting "Improvements in Towns." This Act authorized local governments to appoint a magistrate and such number of inhabitants as may be necessary to be commissioners, to prepare rules for levying and expending money for any special purposes of local administration. In form, this statement of the Constitution has undergone a complete and radical alteration ; but in substance—in the living ideas underlying the new forms—this principle practically applies to municipal government in the districts to-day. In 1856 was passed the great Act which governs the smaller towns in Northern India to the present day. This makes the arrangements for local improvements permanent instead of occasional. The magistrate of the district is both the initiative and administrative authority. He fixes the sum required for a given year for town purposes ; and he constitutes by nomination a small council, or *panchayet*, to distribute this lump sum among the different inhabitants, either on their local knowledge of the taxpayer's worldly circumstances (which sounds vague), or (which is very rare) on a definite valuation of property. In either case the magistrate hears the appeal from an aggrieved assessee. Having finally confirmed the assessment list, the magistrate collects the tax and spends it on local improvements. Now I have some little experience of the assessment lists of these little towns—some of them decaying vestiges of what were once important centres of population. I have no hesitation in saying that the vaguer of the two principles—assessment according to position and means—works far better, both in justice and in smoothness, than the apparently sound principle of a formal valuation of property. There are other institutions in India in which a similar paradox occurs, and it is well to remember in drawing up paper constitutions that things are not *always* what they seem.

In the government of the smaller towns under Act X. of 1856, there is neither in theory the election of members, nor local supervision by the people in carrying on the works for which the town fund is levied. In practice, however, a sympathetic magistrate always arranges informally for local supervision by such respectable inhabitants of the town as are willing to charge themselves with the responsibility of "looking after other people's business." But the principle of supervision by local, though not necessarily elected, citizens, for Mofassil towns and rural areas, was strongly insisted on by Lord Mayo's Government in 1870. It was then recognised that funds devoted to such objects as education, sanitation, medical charity, and public works of a local character, benefited by the supervision of local agency. But the greatest landmark in the history of modern representative institutions in India was the action of Lord Ripon's Government in 1882. Certain broad principles were laid down by that Government which were afterwards embodied in the legislation of 1882 and 1883. The objects held in view by the far-reaching reforms then promulgated were stated to be twofold—first, to relieve the officers of Government from a portion of the duties and responsibilities which had gone on increasing as the machinery of Government became more elaborate; and, secondly, to introduce local interest in local affairs, coupled with local unpaid service as an instrument of political and popular education. The machinery with which these objects were to be carried out was provided by the creation of local boards for rural areas and municipal boards for the larger towns, with an assured preponderance of non-official members, elected by popular vote wherever the local circumstances admitted of the principle of popular election. Government control, it was laid down, was to be from without rather than from within, and the chairmen of the boards were accordingly to be non-official. The rural boards were to be for small areas about the fifth or sixth part of a district on the average; and there was to be in

each district a district board exercising authority over the local boards and co-ordinating their action.

The result of these comprehensive proposals was that all the principal towns of India were granted municipal constitutions, in which the elected members usually preponderated, though room was found for some members nominated by Government, and a few *ex officio* members. The franchise of the different municipalities varied very widely, and was fixed according to local circumstances, often under bye-laws drawn up by the municipalities and sanctioned by the Government. The constitutions or the numbers of these municipalities have varied little since then, except in regard to two important points presently to be noticed, though a vast amount of progress has been made in these twenty-four years in grappling with the details, intricacies, and pitfalls of local administration, and in elaborating municipal codes in the different provinces. The points in which there has been in practice the greatest divergence from Lord Ripon's ideas are (1) as regards the personnel of the chairman, and (2) as regards the relation of Government to the boards. In practice, the chairmen of most of the Mofassil municipalities are the magistrates of the districts in which they are situated. The magistrate is not *ex officio* chairman. The board regularly goes through the formality of electing its own chairman, and may, if it chuses, elect a non-official gentleman; but by a sort of unwritten law the board in fact elects the district magistrate as chairman. Whenever there is a change in the office of district magistrate, it is distinctly understood that the outgoing magistrate resigns the chair, and equally understood that his successor in the magisterial office is elected to the chair of the municipality. Now the district magistrate being the chief executive officer of Government in the district, it follows that his election as the head of the municipality introduces indirectly Government control from within rather than from without. It is true that Mr. Smith, as chairman of the municipality, sometimes carries on a lively correspondence with himself as

magistrate of the district ; but the situation, though full of humour, has no significance whatever in practical administration. The fact that one man fills the two posts is a guarantee (in the case of an average man) that he will take the same point of view in both offices in all material questions of business. This may possibly appear to derogate from the independence of municipalities ; but in the present circumstances of India it is necessary, in the smaller municipalities, in the interests of efficiency and smooth administration. The chairman-magistrate, a man of affairs and experience, and yet on the spot, serves as a buffer between the amorphous opinions of an inexperienced board and the weighty but somewhat detached position of the Commissioner, to whom the control and guidance of the municipalities has been delegated by Government. That Government control and guidance are necessary at the present stage no one can deny ; granting that necessity, the arrangement which the experience of two decades has evolved seems to be the best possible at once for present efficiency and for future progress.

In discussing the progress of the rural boards, we find the situation far less encouraging than in the case of the municipal boards. The two points of departure from the original conception of the boards, which we noticed in discussing the municipalities, are also noticeable, even with stronger force, in the case of the rural boards. The greatest diversity prevails in the different provinces in respect of the unit for the rural boards. It may be said of several of the provinces that they contain district boards only, and practically no local boards for the smaller areas. The United Provinces are an instance in point. The local boards have not sufficient powers and responsibilities, and they rarely perform any solid business. It is only within recent years that even district boards have been invested with any financial independence, and in public bodies, as in families, you cannot be said to have started housekeeping until you have separate accounts of your own to worry



over. Another cause of backwardness in the local government of rural areas is to be found in the great isolation of rural interests from one another, and the slower susceptibility, compared with the towns, to the grip of that knitting force which is the chief glory of the British Administration in India. Madras is the only province in which the rural boards have shown signs of a vigorous existence. There the unit adopted is a small one—the village union, governed by a panchayet. Higher in the scale are the Taluk Boards, which correspond to the local boards of Upper India; and over them all is the district board, which flourishes because its constituent feeders live a growing and healthy life. The village union was not in the large and comprehensive scheme of rural self-government drawn up for the whole of India, but by its adoption in Madras the roots have penetrated sufficiently deep into the soil to give strength and vitality to the growth above. Another argument for calling Madras the “benighted Presidency!”

There are in the whole of British India\* 763 municipalities. The population living within municipal limits is close upon 17,000,000. The total number of members of municipal boards is more than 10,000, or an average of thirteen members to each municipality. The municipal boards of the Presidency towns are very much larger bodies, Calcutta having fifty members, and Bombay seventy-two; but their constitutions, offices, bye-laws, and procedure are in many respects entirely different from those of district municipalities. The proportion of official to non-official members for the whole of India is 2 : 7, that of European to Indian members is 1 : 7. The maximum proportion of appointed to elected members is fixed by statute. For example, in the United Provinces the number of appointed members is not to exceed a quarter of the total number of members. The aggregate income of the

\* The figures that follow are principally taken from the “Statistical Abstract relating to British India for 1903-1904,” published as a Blue-book in 1905.

municipalities, according to the Return\* published in 1905, in £6,579,094—roughly speaking, six and a half millions sterling. This may be divided into three convenient heads, viz. : (1) Loans, deposits, advances, etc., three and a quarter millions, of which fully one-third is on account of the Presidency towns ; (2) amount realized from rates and taxes, two and a half millions ; (3) amount realized from rents, contributions, sale proceeds of manure, etc., three quarters of a million.

It will be noticed that about half the year's income is derived from loans and other sources which can be classified as debt. The year's expenditure nearly balances the income. The municipalities are very properly not allowed to hoard their money, a tendency which some of the outlying boards showed at the earlier stages of their career. A sufficient closing balance is, of course, insisted on. It follows that about half the year's municipal expenditure comes from borrowed money. While the expansion of income under the second and third heads (taxation, rents, etc.) has been only about 33 per cent. during the last ten years, the increase under the head of debt has been about 600 per cent. These figures are startling at first sight, but it must be remembered that the process of sinking money in material and tangible assets—to wit, large public works—has been carried on very considerably in the last decade. Most of the large district municipalities have constructed their waterworks within that period. Large drainage and sewage schemes, the widening and paving of roads and thoroughfares, and measures for the prevention or fighting of plague, have necessitated large demands on the municipal exchequer. Perhaps in some cases a more cautious policy in the matter of borrowings might be advisable ; but the expert supervision of the Government makes it impossible that in any case the financial stability or solvency of a municipality should be jeopardised by reckless borrowing. All the

\* "Statistical Abstract," as above.

Mofassil municipalities have to get Government sanction for their loans, and their financial statements every year have to show clearly how their debt account stands, with reference to their assets, the state of the sinking fund, and the arrangements made for the payment of the interest charges. In the case of the Presidency municipalities there are statutory limitations to the aggregate amount of debt which the municipality can owe. In Calcutta, for instance, the cost of the interest and sinking fund is not to exceed 10 per cent. of the valuation of the city. At present I believe it is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The debt of Calcutta is about two millions, against an annual revenue of half a million; that of Bombay is about three millions against half a million of revenue. The proportion of revenue to debt is therefore 1 : 4 in the one case, and 1 : 6 in the other. The proportion in the national finances of the United Kingdom is between 1 : 6 and 1 : 7. On the other hand, the interest charges in local finance are very much heavier than in Imperial finance, the Indian municipalities usually paying between 4 and 7 per cent. of interest on their loans. The question of debt in municipal finance ought to be studied more carefully than it is by members of Indian municipalities, as the expedient of throwing the burden of present difficulties on future generations may result in a serious crippling of resources, or a check to the expansion of activity, unless there is an expanding benefit derived from the works undertaken.

As regards the form of taxation the different provincial systems differ widely. In the Punjab, the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces, octroi forms the chief source of income, and in Bombay it forms a considerable item in municipal taxation. Bengal, Madras, and Burma, among the larger provinces, do without octroi. The system works thus : A number of octroi stations (ten or fifteen) are placed all around the municipal boundaries, commanding all the ways of entry into the town. There is a clerk in charge of each station, whose duty it is to levy a tax on all goods

entering the municipality, according to a schedule fixed and notified by the municipality. The schedule contains a classified list of goods which are chargeable to octroi, with the rates shown against each. Some of these rates are *ad valorem*, and others are according to weight or measure. A set of scales and weights are provided by the municipality. The quantity or weight is often estimated by the cart or the load, or in accordance with local commercial usage. But if there should be a dispute between the importer of the goods and the clerk, the whole of the goods have to be taken out and weighed, counted, or measured, as the case might be. In the case of *ad valorem* rates there is most chance of a dispute. Where the importer is a large wholesale dealer, the invoice which accompanies the goods is often a sufficient indication of the quantity or value. But in India, where make-believe or collusion play so important a part in the machinery of life, this test cannot always be relied upon. To the petty trader or the private individual, however, the annoyances are numerous and vexatious. The clerk who collects the tax has a salary of from 9s. to 12s. a month. There is a strong temptation and opportunity for illicit gains. In all cases where he can reasonably count upon not being found out, he creates difficulties and differences of opinion. There is a machinery for settling these, but it is cumbrous in comparison with the nimble coin slipped into the clerk's hand, which solves all doubts and difficulties without trouble or loss of time. Octroi administration therefore demands constant vigilance on the part of members and officers of municipalities. The first requirement is to make a good schedule, simple and unambiguous, with as few items in it as would be consistent with clearness, and with due regard to the fostering, according to economic principles, of the local industries and manufactures; the next object of attention should be the appointment of as honest and efficient a collecting and supervising staff as possible; and the third is the careful periodical examination of

the statistics, accounts, and practical working, with free opportunities provided to all who have specific complaints to make before the Board. Some boards maintain an overgrown supervising agency, drawn from the same class as the tax-collecting clerks. They forget the maxim, "the greater the supervision, the greater the collusion." They are gradually abolishing octroi in the Bombay Province. It would be a good thing if it could be abolished altogether. In spite of an elaborate and carefully worked out system of supervision, checks by means of standards of consumption, refunds, and exemptions, it probably takes more from the pockets of the people than actually goes into the coffers of the municipalities. Its chief merit as an indirect tax paid on commodities, and not directly levied from the citizens, is neutralized by many delays and petty malpractices, and it is a fruitful source of harassment to the poor and uneducated classes who enter towns with even a small amount of belongings—the very classes who require most protection. The question of abolition, however, is not yet within the region of practical politics in Upper India, and it is all the more necessary for civic patriotism to be directed towards insuring its proper administration.

Apart from octroi the most important sources of municipal taxation are a tax on houses and lands, which is sometimes levied in addition to octroi, but which occupies the chief place where octroi does not enter into the scheme; a water-rate in large towns with waterworks; and a conservancy-rate, which is usually for public conservancy only. The system of private conservancy is still peculiar in most of the smaller towns. The mechanical appliances for sanitary conservancy have scarcely taken root even in the Presidency towns; in the Mofassil they do not exist. A caste of hereditary scavengers, who look upon the goodwill of their business as a marketable and heritable asset, claim the monopoly of service in private houses. The payments to them are not systematic, but are based on a set of elastic customary rights. The consequence is that private con-

servancy is the weakest feature in town life. Any radical reform evokes opposition, not only from the scavenging class with vested interests, but even from the citizens themselves, who are apt to forget the inefficiency of the present system in concentrating their attention upon its cheapness. Taxes of minor importance are: taxes on animals and vehicles; taxes on professions and trades; tolls on roads and ferries; and a lighting-rate, though the cost of lighting the town is usually defrayed from the general income of the municipal fund.

The incidence per head of the population of the amounts raised or (what is equivalent to it) spent by the municipalities varies greatly in the different Provinces, and the different kinds of municipalities. The Presidency towns are, of course, more expensive than the Mofassil towns, and among them Bombay leads the way as easily first. From rates and taxes Bombay raises 12s. 7d. per head, and from all sources, including loans, 14s. 7d. per head. The figures for Calcutta are 8s. 11d. and 10s. 8d. respectively; and those for Madras only 2s. 11d. and 4s. 3d. respectively. Rangoon is almost as expensive as Bombay, the incidence of taxation being 8s. 8d. per head, and of all municipal revenue 14s. 6d. per head. But Rangoon, as a municipal town, has a shorter career behind it than the Presidency towns, and its borrowings must necessarily be on a liberal scale to keep pace with the phenomenal rate at which the town is growing—in size, population, and commercial importance. These figures are comparable to the incidence of the rates levied in England for the use of the Poor Law authorities, which average to about 6s. or 7s. per head of population. The incidence of municipal expenditure in English boroughs furnishes no fair basis of comparison; first, because the scales of people's incomes are so different in England and India, and secondly, because the English municipalities undertake, on the whole, more duties, and are more in touch with popular sentiment than are the Indian municipalities. The incidence of municipal taxation



per head of population in the borough of St. Albans, in which I reside, is about 15s.

The figures of the Mofassil municipalities are, as might be expected, lower than those of the Presidency towns. The Province of Madras is again the cheapest, with an incidence of 1s. 6d. for rates and taxes, and 2s. 5d. for total income in district municipalities. Burma is the most expensive, with 2s. 3d. and 5s. 1d. respectively. The variation in the figures for the district municipalities is small, and the incidence per head may ordinarily be taken to be about 2s. for rates and taxes, and about 3s. for total income.

An analysis of the main heads under which the expenditure falls may be of some value. From the figures in the statistical abstract already quoted I have prepared the following table showing the percentages :

	Percentage to total expenditure.
Interest, debt (repayment), sinking fund, deposits, etc. ... ..	50·3
Public health and convenience ... ..	35·8
General administration and collection charges ... ..	6·7
Public safety (lighting, police, fire, etc.) ...	4·2
Public instruction ... ..	3·0
	<hr/> 100·0

It will be noticed that the debt charges absorb more than half the total amount spent by the municipalities, and exceed by a long way any other single item. Under the head of public health and convenience, which accounts for about 36 per cent. of the annual expenditure, are included a large number of items. Not only is the annual expenditure on water-supply and drainage debited to this account, but also the capital outlay under these heads. This amounts to a very considerable item, and when the public works expenditure is added to it (*i.e.* the outlay on roads, bridges, public works establishments, and stores) the amount left for conservancy is not very large, and is

certainly quite inadequate in most cases for the needs of the overcrowded plague spots which are called Indian towns. Markets and slaughter-houses are also debited to this head, but the outlay is small, and is ordinarily more than counter-balanced by the tolls and dues levied in them. The municipal expenditure on hospitals, dispensaries, and vaccination is not large, and is a mere supplement to the funds contributed from private, district board, or Government sources.

The expenditure on services of public safety is insignificant, being only 4 per cent. of the whole. Very few of the municipal boards maintain fire brigades. Systems of fire insurance are unknown in the Mofassil, as indeed might be expected, considering that the majority of the proletariat live in mud huts with thatched roofs, and a man's personalty in many cases amounts scarcely to anything more than what he might carry as personal luggage on a railway journey. The police charges, which are included in the statistics, are no longer paid by municipalities in the United Provinces, where the stability of municipal finance under the stress of plague expenditure was threatened, and relief from the police charges was one of the liberal concessions made from provincial funds by the Government of Sir James La Touche. In the matter of lighting there is little satisfactory result in the Indian towns. Kerosene oil, often of the poorest description, is the illuminant used. In the Civil stations a respectable attempt is made to light the roads, but even there the magnificent distances which separate one house from another preclude the struggling street lamp's misty light from performing any other office than that of rendering the darkness more visible. The magnificent distances also render any thorough schemes of street paving or well-constructed drainage so expensive as to be prohibitive. The best roads consist of a strip of metal 9 or 12 feet wide, with broad alleys on either side of a depth of 2 or 3 inches of dust or mud, according to the moods of Jupiter Pluvius.

The charges of general administration and collection of taxes amount to nearly 7 per cent. of the expenditure. This is the average. In many municipalities the proportion is higher. Considering that the majority of the servants paid out of the salary bill are entertained primarily for purposes of tax collection the proportion is high, and might with advantage be scrutinized and reduced wherever possible. The salary bill in many of the English municipalities bears a much smaller proportion to the total expenditure. In the borough of St. Albans it is about 5 per cent. It is an invidious task, especially where the servants happen to be nominees or protégés of the members, to cut down salaries or reduce establishments, and Indian civic dignitaries are as generous in voting money—other people's—as any in Christendom. What they ought to remember is that public money is not other people's money, but their own. Indeed, the standard of care and economy to be expected in regard to public money ought to be very much higher than that which people are accustomed to exercise in their own private affairs. If a man mismanages his own affairs he only hurts himself, and the ordinary promptings of human nature should in most cases deter him from persistently erring in that direction. But when he fails to exercise the utmost diligence in his power in the administration of public funds committed to his care as a sacred trust, he is a traitor to the interests of hundreds of poor taxpayers who have bestowed upon him the honour of being their representative because they trusted him. Such betrayal, if there were an active civic conscience, would be considered deserving of far more reprobation than any individual lapses in private life.

Economy, however, is not to be confounded with niggardliness. Economy makes for efficiency, while niggardliness is only a form of mismanagement. Now there are objects on which municipal boards might spend far more funds than they actually do. Such an object is education. Under this head the total sum spent by the municipalities

of India amounts to a paltry 3 per cent. of their outgoings. This can scarcely be considered adequate. Free education in municipal towns may be a counsel of perfection. But there can be no doubt that a much larger amount than is actually spent would be required to meet the existing demand for education, and that that demand is growing every year. It has always been the settled policy of Government to encourage municipal boards in making liberal grants towards elementary education, but it is remarkable that the response from the boards has not been as hearty as might have been desired. In the towns the demand is all for English education in Anglo-vernacular schools. These come rather under the description of secondary than of primary education. Now while primary education has received most attention, the opinion has frequently been held that secondary education—especially in English—should be paid for by those who desire it. Every town has one or two secondary schools, but they are generally overcrowded, and as the English course is of most material benefit to the pupils, it is the most popular branch of study. It is also the least organized. The names of many distinguished statesmen—none more than that of Sir Alfred Lyall—are associated with an attempt to encourage secondary and English education, and there are signs that the Education Departments are realizing the importance of English in the early education of the children of India. But the municipalities would do well—while not starving elementary education—to lay out judiciously sufficient funds for meeting the demand that has vigorously set in for secondary and English education.

I think I have said enough to show the opportunities and the shortcomings, the possibilities and the pitfalls of civic life in India. It is true that the qualification for voters, though low enough, still keeps a large number of the population outside the vortex of municipal life. In Calcutta, for instance, the qualification is threefold—viz., either the payment of rates and taxes to the amount of

Rs. 24 ; or the possession of a license to practice certain trades and professions ; or the occupation or ownership of land of a certain value. Under the last head a man may have as many votes as there are units of property. In any of these three forms property bulks largely (for India) in the makings of a civic elector, and the number of names on the Voters' Register bears a very small proportion to the total population. But, on the other hand, the interest shown by electors in contested elections is very keen ; indeed, in some cases it might with advantage be moderated with some of that tolerance for opponents which introduces chivalry into the civic code. In 1895, as many as 75 per cent. of the electorate voted in the contested wards of Calcutta.\* This makes a very favourable show when compared with the London County Council election of 1901, in which only 20·6 per cent. voted in the City of London and 56·8 in Stepney. The fact is that in spite of many failures and many gaps to be filled up in the future, a fair amount of progress has been made in building up a civic conscience in India. So acute an observer as Lord Curzon (then Mr. Curzon), in piloting the India Councils Bill through the House of Commons in 1892,† used words which are truer to-day than they were fourteen years ago—words full of generous sympathy and penetrating insight. He defined the objects of that measure to be :

“To widen the basis and to expand the functions of Government in India ; to give further opportunities than at present exist to the non-official and native elements in Indian society to take part in the work of government, and in this way to lend official recognition to that remarkable development both of political interest and political capacity which has been visible among the higher classes of Indian society since the Government of India was taken over by the Crown.”

\* P. 83 of the “Moral and Material Progress of India for 1901-1902” (Blue-book of 1903).

† Hansard, fourth series, vol. iii., p. 53, March 28, 1892.

The German philosopher Haeckel uses a felicitous phrase, "Communal Soul," in discussing the habits of the most primitive of Protozoan forms. Whether this communal soul exists in the unicellular radiolaria must be left to biologists to determine. But it certainly forms an important factor in the capacities of mankind. It is the centripetal force which binds families, races, and nations together. It is the element which lends pathos, dignity, and sublimity to epic poetry. It gathers the threads of isolated thoughts, floating dreams and visions, and unconnected deeds of gallantry and heroism, and weaves with them a tangible and splendid fabric, whose composite glory of sparkle, softness, and strength forms the outer robe of aspiring humanity in its stately march through the centuries.



## YOUNG INDIA: ITS HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS.\*

BY SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR.

THE generation in India that is fast passing away from the scene of its earthly labours is regarding the younger generation with mingled hope and fear. The hope gives rise to the fear, because it is felt that the future of the land rests entirely on what the younger generation is. To find out, therefore, the tendencies of "young India," to know something of the sentiments that actuate it, to discover the directions in which the prospects are promising as well as those in which the outlook is gloomy, and to calculate the chances of progress in the country when affairs finally pass into hands now preparing for them, must be a subject of absorbing interest to everyone interested in India. But it is not the unique fascination of the subject that is its chief recommendation to attention, but to my mind it deserves a serious consideration at our hands as a factor in the solution of many of the social and political problems with which modern India bristles, and which will be difficult to handle unless those trying to solve them have a clear idea of the present conditions of the country and understand the men they have to deal with.

"Young India" can be classed into several divisions. There is, for instance, the division of the sexes, the male world consisting of young men in active walks of life, and the young female world inside the homes, possessed of no small influence and capable of moulding the destinies of the country, no less active for being hidden from the eye of the ordinary observer. There is another great division of young India—that of the educated and the uneducated, or, to be more comprehensive, of the literate and the illiterate. Let us begin with this latter classification of young Indians. I

\* For discussion on this paper see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this Review.

need hardly state that, unfortunately, the illiterate form a large majority. I do not propose to enter here into the causes of this prevailing want of education, and to decide whether the Government or the people are more to blame for it, though at first sight it appears that a civilized Government like that of Britain must have been sleeping pretty soundly over its duties to neglect the elementary education of the people so much. But the truth is that the people, too, have been apathetic to this primary duty of all civilized nations, and the Government is not exclusively open to blame, and in fairness to both it may be added that there are signs of an awakening in both the quarters to a sense of their duty to the masses to provide for a general elementary education. For our present purpose, however, it has to be admitted that the bulk of the population even in "young India" is unlettered. Now we have to see what this mass of humanity is about. Outwardly it is not much different to its prototypes of a past or a passing generation. The young peasant tills the soil as diligently as his fathers before him, uses the same implements of agriculture, and has, more or less, the same simple mode of life and the same philosophic faith in Providence. The workman has the same quiet way of going to work, the same long hours of labour, and the same struggle to make both ends meet. The artisan, with the exception of a few fortunate members of his class, who in some modern factories have learnt the use of improved tools and machinery, goes on pretty much in his old way. The professional beggar, a drain as he is on the national earnings of India, still goes his daily rounds, and the acrobatic dancer and the juggler still amuse the crowd with their feats and tricks. To all appearances the current of life runs quite smoothly, but a little below the surface there is commotion, for the man in the street in India and the labourer in the field is no longer as ignorant as he looks. The literate minority is not so much cut off from the illiterate majority as is commonly supposed, and the influences that are modifying the trend of thought of the upper and educated

classes manage to reach the lower and less informed sections of the people, though in a weaker and less distinct form. The vernacular press, so often despised or ignored, is gradually becoming a powerful medium of education for the masses, and those who cannot read the papers themselves at least hear the echoes of what is agitating the newspaper world. A gossip about the latest news, especially in days when a great war is raging in any part of the world, is not an uncommon thing now in the village circle of an evening or in the leisure haunts of workmen in the towns. What is discussed by them as the "latest" may be very stale for an up-to-date man, but, still, their interest in it from day to day indicates a broadening of their mental horizon and a rising sense of what is happening around them. This spirit is stimulated to an appreciable extent among the masses all over the country by the growing number of their countrymen going abroad—as travellers, as students, as traders, as emigrant settlers, and as indentured labourers. In a large number of rural districts of the Punjab, for example, the name of Africa is now very well known, because thousands of men have gone out to Uganda. Similarly the name of Australia has become a household word, both as the place where work is to be found and as the place of which the doors have been long shut against British Indians by a British colony under the flag of Great Britain. The compactness of village life renders every departure of an emigrant from the village an event in its history, and from that day begins an interest in the outside world. The soldiers who have gone abroad on important expeditions, like that to China and the still more recent one to Somaliland, bring back home to their villages and towns exciting descriptions of their travels by sea and land, of the sights that met their eyes, of the nations which they came in contact with, and of the interesting experiences they went through. Thus they serve as a link between their small, retired, and hitherto isolated village community and the great world beyond. The progenitors of the peasants of

to-day knew little, and cared less, about the destinies of people outside their little world, but the younger men are brought up under conditions which open their eyes and expand their sphere of interest. This indirect education that is slowly but steadily going on is not yet strong enough to give rise to a presumption that the illiterate section of young India can take an intelligent interest in the current affairs of their country and of the world, but it can hardly be denied that a great and effective step is being quietly taken towards that goal, and that in course of time, with a further development of the causes enumerated, helped by a more general elementary education, and accelerated by efforts from patriotic Indians aiming at raising the level of the intelligence of the masses, a body of opinion may grow up in the country calculated to compel attention.

Turning now to the literate portion of young India, no less important for the comparative smallness of its numbers, we find that there is already some stir in it. Education is having its natural effect: the minds of men are being awakened, their thoughts fly higher, the voice of ambition finds a sympathetic response in their hearts, and they aspire to come into line with the great nations of the world. This desire to improve their condition intellectually as well as materially, individually as well as collectively, is taking diverse forms, according to the inclinations of the persons actuated by it. We see this spirit of activity, this desire to do something, this anxiety for the welfare of the Motherland, displaying itself in political movements like the Congress, in social movements like the Conferences of Reform, in educational movements like the Mohammedan Educational Conference, and in religious movements like the Arya Samaj among the Hindus, to take only one typical instance out of many which mark religious revivalism in India of the present day. Some of these movements are now established institutions, commanding vast influence, and being appreciated in different ways by the classes whom they try to serve. Each has its zealous adherents,

who believe the welfare of the whole country to be bound up with the success of their plans, and look with disfavour upon those who bestow their sympathies elsewhere. But to the impartial student of Indian affairs all of them seem to be the natural outcome of the conditions in which we live, and of the period of transition through which we are passing ; and he believes all of them to be more or less needed to culminate eventually in a national life, under the influence of which the hearts of a whole people will throb in unison. Before attaining that end, however, the question is how to reduce this apparent discord into unity. Some would suggest the bringing together of the various streams of patriotism, charity, and enterprise that have so far flowed in different directions, and making them run into one channel, to produce a strong and powerful motive power. There can be no doubt as to the strength of such a unity were it possible, but constituted as mankind is, scope must be given to individual likes and dislikes, and it is useless to expect the whole of India to seek its salvation through any one of the organizations existing for the amelioration of her condition. What is wanted is a spirit of tolerance towards each other, an admission that there is a limited power for good in most of the movements that are on foot, and that such power is not centred in any of them to an unlimited extent. It is regrettable that these different organizations have a tendency towards narrow exclusiveness, and gradually degenerate into cults, the followers of which look with something like horror upon those who believe in other systems of work, and thus add one more powerful force of disintegration and disunion to other forces of the kind that already exist in India, and keep the people of the land divided. The recognition of the good that there is in each, the extension of sympathy with each other, and the desire to co-operate so far as possible, are remedies which, if skilfully applied, can change discord into harmony and multiply chances of usefulness.

I have pointed out where the weak spot in the social

and political movements of the India of to-day is, and hinted how those engaged in them may try to strengthen their position. This has reference to the relations between various societies and their foremost workers; but there is another side of this question, and that concerns the relation between these movements and the Government in India. People in England, who have practically a free hand in the development of their national life and institutions, can hardly understand to what extent a movement in India can be affected for better or for worse by the attitude which the Government takes with regard to it. And the attitude of the Government towards many of the movements we are considering is one of apathy and indifference, and sometimes of hostility and mistrust. The Mohammedan Educational Conference of Aligarh, confining itself as it does to the object of preaching to Mohammedans that they should take to Western education, to which they have been averse for a long time, is almost the solitary exception among the more important public organizations of our country which has occasionally received a word of sympathy from some far-seeing members of the Government; but a large number of other movements have been treated with indifference. Now, I hold that it is not a wise policy for any Government (least of all a Government like that of the British in India) to remain indifferent to movements that sway the popular mind.

Having said something about the apathy that generally characterizes the official attitude towards popular movements in India, I think I must say something about the open hostility and mistrust with which political movements have been regarded. The Congress was started with the avowed object of constitutionally agitating for better rights and privileges for Indians, both as citizens and as public servants. It assembled annually, and its assemblies were public, and it made no mystery of its proceedings. That its object was not pleasant to "the powers that be" we can understand, but it acted within its legal rights, and there-



fore the mistrust that it excited in official quarters and the open hostility with which it sometimes met have been responsible for an amount of ill-feeling which is now beginning to bear fruit. The Congress started by recognising the British Government as a necessity for a peaceful, progressive, and prosperous India, and embodied this principle in its resolutions, in the speeches made on its platforms, and in the printed record of its proceedings. It still adheres, I think, to that principle in its official utterances; but I have it on good authority that there is a growing body of men who once supported it, but who have been driven by what they regard as years of disappointment and disencouragement from the Government to an attitude of defiance. They recognise the smallness of their numbers and the helplessness of their present situation, but they feel very bitterly towards the British, and wish to cut themselves off from them by offering them "passive resistance." Up to the present this hardly constitutes anything more than a sign, but it is a sign which, I think, everyone who believes in the desirability of good relations between Englishmen and Indians, and wishes to solve most of the difficulties of the country by getting the two classes to work together for the welfare of India, will notice with deep regret. Measures of repression to crush the growing spirit of independence have been tried, but have failed to bring about the desired result. They have ended in more bitterness. It yet remains to be seen what kindness and sympathy can do. It may be said that sympathy has been tried also, but I believe one may rightfully ask for a larger measure of it than has been given hitherto. That was a measure adapted to times that are past, to men who had been trained in a different atmosphere, and to conditions that have materially changed. Societies as well as States are in constant need of readjustment to suit changing circumstances, and in many respects, perhaps, no country in the world is undergoing greater changes than India, though few countries have a higher reputation for

clinging tenaciously to their ancient manners and customs. Think of the horror with which the grandparents of many of my Hindu friends in this hall would have regarded the idea of their children sojourning here, were they to come to life again. But India is now getting over this feeling, and the man who crosses the water no longer loses caste. In most places he is welcomed back with open arms, and in others re-admitted after some slight ceremonies. Imagine for a time the descendants of people among whom widows used to sacrifice their lives for their deceased husbands by jumping into the funeral pile, agitating for the remarriage of widows, and succeeding in that agitation. Fancy the successors of Moslem divines who, up to the middle of the last century preached a religious war against the "unbelieving," proclaiming that religious war in India was not allowable by the Islamic law. These are important and essential changes, but these are only a few of a long list that could be easily drawn up, which show that India is going through a great transformation—nay, it is already considerably transformed. It is a new India which you have to deal with, but you do not notice the transformation, simply because it has been going on under your own eyes, just as you often fail to notice how your own child has grown up since last year if the child has been constantly before you. India is changing—changing in more directions than you know of—but you are too near to observe the phenomenon. I have long believed in this fact, but much has happened recently in different parts of the country to convince me more than ever that the treatment by Englishmen of their fellow-subjects in India ought to be adapted to the altered circumstances. We have long been familiar in India with a sharp line of distinction between the ruling race and the subject race. But is any such distinction just after royal promises of equality of treatment? or can it last long without hampering the growth of a spirit of mutual goodwill and confidence between the Western and Eastern people whom Providence has brought together in India?

Moreover, is it true in fact? I doubt if it is. I see an ever-increasing number of Indians entering the higher grades of the public service through the doors of competitive tests, where they prove themselves the intellectual equals of their English fellow-subjects. They take part—within limited areas, but an important and responsible part all the same—in the administration of the country, thus cutting some ground from under the feet of the theory of a ruling race. I also find a number of highly-qualified Indians sitting on the benches of our High Courts, exercising the same authority and discharging the same duties as their English colleagues; and the number of such Indians is bound to grow as time goes by, if all goes well and no retrograde policy is adopted by the Government. How can we, then, speak of a ruling race with any accuracy? The European official in India, in the interests of the Empire, and in order to win the confidence of the people, should so act as not to show any assumption of a Divine right to rule, or any air of conscious superiority, which, without strengthening his position, jars upon the susceptibilities of the people. I can quite imagine somebody objecting to the view I have expressed, and saying: "This must be some new sensitiveness that the Indians have developed, as their fathers rejoiced in honouring the rulers." Yes, it is *new*, but it *is* there, and it has to be taken into account. The Indian to-day is not behind his father in deference to constituted authority, but he is now learning to bow to authority in the abstract as distinguished from its concrete embodiment—the official. He has imbibed the English notions of right and duty, has learnt at the feet of broad-minded English scholars the lessons of independence and love of liberty, and he finds it impossible to behave like those who never had these privileges. It is no use, therefore, to fret at this spirit, which is one of the most direct results of the contact between England and India; but efforts should be made to foster it on right lines, and to encourage it within due bounds, as is the

advice of one of our rising poets, who, in lines addressed to Englishmen responsible for ruling India, has the following memorable verse :

“Yih áp láē haiṇ maghrib sē sail-i-ázádi,  
Banáēn ab wuh imárat ki ustawár rahē.”

“This flood of freedom, it comes from the West, and you yourself have brought it.

Erect now an edifice that may stand the rush of the waters.”

That edifice can be built only in the hearts of the people, and the deeper you sink its foundations the better for all concerned. The value of that edifice has been yet scarcely recognised in England. It means a satisfied India and a strong India. Well, a strong India means a stronger England. At present India, with all the advantages that its possession confers on England, is the weak limb of the Imperial body politic. It is the point that is most vulnerable. But with a people awakened to a full sense of their capacities and prepared to stand by England, sharing the privileges as well as the duties of citizens of the British Empire, and feeling a pride in admission, through Britain, to the comity of nations, it can be the strongest weapon in the Imperial armoury. We have often received with pleasure from the lips of English orators the compliment that India is the brightest jewel in the British crown, and some eminent Indians have followed suit in making use of this happy phrase. You will perhaps be surprised, therefore, when I say that I am not quite satisfied with this expression. I wish Englishmen looked upon India as something more than a “jewel.” A jewel is more of an ornament than an article of daily use. It is only brought out on great occasions. It is meant for show. It has comparatively little intrinsic value. So we find this bright jewel shining with a lustre all its own in coronation rejoicings and other State ceremonies, but at other times old England prefers her simple black bonnet to the heavy crown and the dazzling Koh-i-noor. That is why I would like India to fulfil a less brilliant but a more useful function

in the paraphernalia of England. It should become—and it can very easily become—the staff on which the aged Mother of Empires may lean in her times of trouble. Who can stand before an England having at her beck and call three hundred millions of people, if she sets to work to make so many Britons of them—*i.e.*, British subjects in the true sense of the term, and not, as they are now, British subjects for some things and nobodies in other things—for example, in the treatment they receive at the hands of their fellow-subjects in South Africa?

It has been possible to allude but briefly to the chief aspiration of educated Indians, and through them of the rest of India, to see their status improve in the eyes of their own Government, and consequently in the eyes of the world abroad. They desire to raise the country to a higher level of social, educational, and industrial progress. Their efforts have hitherto been mainly confined to endeavours for political progress in the case of some and for educational advancement in the case of others, but they are now turning their thoughts to other urgent needs of the country as well, and therein lies the great hope of the future. They are expanding the sphere of their duties, and this new tendency may be said to be almost coterminous with the new century. If this wholesome inclination proves lasting and fulfils the promise that it seems to give, the historian of the future may date a new era in India from the dawn of the twentieth century. The movement that had been slowly going on during the last five years has gathered considerable force in the year which has just ended. This year has seen greater attention towards industrial and commercial development. Home industries have been encouraged. The need for technical education has been more emphatically recognised than before, and the number of smaller institutions for such training is multiplying fast. A large number—much larger than that of any previous years—have come to England for studies other than literary or belonging to learned professions, and a good many have gone out to

Japan and America for a similar training. The average stay-at-home Indian merchant has of late ventured out of his shell and travelled abroad, visiting England, France, and Germany in quest of better openings for his trade, and for establishing direct relations with European firms to avoid the demands of the middlemen. Larger orders than before have been given for the purchase of different kinds of machinery in Europe for use in India, and even the slow-going agriculturist has in some cases—for instance, in the Punjab—shown a willingness to try improved agricultural implements on the farms, and to form combinations for the protection of his interests. Travelling for the sake of information has also been more largely resorted to, and a remarkable characteristic that Indians visiting the West have recently shown, and which offers a great contrast to the case of many who preceded them, is that they seem to be free from that slavish imitation of the West for which we were so often rightly blamed and held up to ridicule. I have come across a large number of my countrymen who, while adapting themselves with admirable elasticity to their surroundings in this part of the world, adhere firmly to the essential principles of religion or ethics taught them in the East, and do not regard it necessary to lay down all their ancient possessions at the altar of Western civilization.

These are hopeful signs, but what strikes me as most hopeful is that greater benevolence and public spirit than before have characterized the donations that have been made to educational work, and that the encouragement of female education has received a place side by side with the education of the boys in the programme of many an educational reformer. Among the Mussulmans the first place in attention to this work is due to our Bombay friends, who, under the able guidance of our chairman of to-day (Mr. Justice Badrud Din Tyebji) have long been fighting the cause of female education. What is more welcome still is that at the Conference of Mohammedans held at Aligarh during last Christmas funds were collected for founding



a training-school for lady teachers, as it has been found by experience that one great difficulty of conducting girls' schools in India is the want of suitable lady teachers. Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal has evinced a very deep and practical interest in this scheme, which fact raises hopes of its success. In connection with the Conference has been held a very successful exhibition of the art and needle-work of women, exhibits to which came from Bombay and from the Punjab, and at which Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and the Maharanis of Patiala condescended to show their own work side by side with that of their humbler sisters. The splendid reception which the ladies of Bombay gave to H.R.H. the Princess of Wales the other day, graphic accounts of which were published by the London papers, has shown that they are now alive to a sense of their civic duties. This indicates that the awakening among men is beginning to have some effect upon women as well, and the other half of young India is by no means quite asleep. Several journals meant particularly for ladies have come into being, and are accelerating the advancement of Indian women. The *Ladies' Magazine*, the excellent monthly in English coming out from Madras; the *Tahzib-i-Niswan*, the useful weekly of Lahore; the *Khatoun*, a high-class monthly in Urdu, published at Aligarh, besides many in Bengali, may be mentioned for the information of those interested in this branch of work and desirous of studying the direction things are taking in the enlightenment of females.

Let us, in conclusion, sum up briefly the facts to which I have invited attention. We have seen that the sentiment that actuates Young India is a desire for advancement—intellectual, commercial, and political. We have observed that the idea, though primarily agitating the educated classes, has reached the masses as well, and is beginning to be shared by that important section of the population that has hitherto led its life in seclusion away from the gaze of men, and has not brought its influence to bear on the public life of the country as the woman in the West has

done. We have also noticed that this sentiment has found expression at first in movements of social and political reform, and later in the promotion of industrial and commercial enterprise, which, though in its commencement at present, is full of vast potentialities. The desire to travel abroad, and to move to distant corners of the world in search of fresh fields and pastures new, is also manifesting itself in larger proportions than before, notwithstanding the obstacles that are placed in the way of Indians by people who have had the good luck of being a little early in the field. And last, though not the least, the spirit of independence and self-help that has come into existence is an asset the value of which can be scarcely over-estimated. These are all matters justifying a hopeful view of the situation. But there are directions in which the outlook is not very promising. The differences between various sections of the community in India have long stood in the way of progress, and though of late there have been some indications of a desire for co-operation, at least in the lines of education, social reform, and commerce, there are forces at work among the younger generation of India that render all united action difficult. The great magnitude of the country adds no little to the difficulties of the task that India has before it, and the very circumstance that would constitute her strength, if she is once welded into a great whole, now forms her weakness. But the facilities of communication are drawing different parts of India more and more together; the comparative freedom of contact between various provinces is removing many an old barrier of prejudice, and the press is contributing its share to the work of consolidation. The prospect, on the whole, strikes me to be far from gloomy. There is no height which Young India may not be able to reach with wider education and a greater co-operation between the communities inhabiting the land, especially if those in whose hands God has placed our destinies give us their full sympathy, and encourage the efforts of the people to better their fortunes.

## THE PARTITION OF BENGAL AND THE BENGALI LANGUAGE.\*

BY S. M. MITRA, M.R.A.S., LATE EDITOR "DECCAN POST."

IN connection with the reconstruction of the Province of Bengal and Assam, better known as the Partition of Bengal, the public have heard a great deal about the Bengali language. There are some who profess to fear the severance of the linguistic ties of the people of Bengal as a result of the Partition. About fifty millions of British subjects speak the Bengali language. Its growth, therefore, has a most important bearing on the political discussions which affect the largest Province in the British Indian Empire. Among Englishmen of the present day, Dr. Grierson, Mr. Beames, and Mr. Gait of the Bengal Civil Service are considered authorities on the Bengali language and literature. Other Englishmen who have carefully studied the Bengali language have also been struck with the beauties of the language. Mr. F. H. Skrine, author of "The Expansion of Russia," a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, who served in Bengal for about a quarter of a century, says : " Bengali is a true daughter of ancient Sanskrit, and approaches its parent more nearly than any Indian language in the qualities which have rendered Sanskrit so unrivalled a medium for the expression of the highest ranges of human thought. It unites the mellifluousness of the Italian with the power possessed by the German of rendering complex ideas." Another retired member of the Indian Civil Service, who has very carefully studied the Bengali language, says : " You cannot speak too strongly of the beauties of the Bengali literature or the charms of one of the most euphonious languages in the world."

The Bengali literature of the present day is rich in history, philosophy, biography, travel, poetry and drama.

\* The discussion of this paper will appear in the report of the East India Association in our next issue.

The Bengali, not satisfied with ordinary dictionaries, has tried to imitate the "Encyclopædia Britannica" and the modest Bengali production called the "Visva Kosha," though not edited by experts, is a monument of literary industry running into many volumes. At present there are over fifty Bengali periodicals devoted to literature, science, art, religion, poetry, medicine, agriculture, etc. English literature and Western enlightenment have had a direct effect on the growth of the Bengali language and literature. To-day Bengali occupies the foremost place among the numerous vernaculars of the British Indian Empire. It is enriched with translations from the French, German, Arabic, and Persian languages. The young Bengali lady of to-day, even if she knows not so much as the alphabet of any European language, can read Guy de Maupassant's stories, discuss the poems of Heine and Victor Hugo and the comedies of Molière. She can enjoy a hearty laugh over the good-humoured banter in that masterpiece of Persian literature, "The Vizier-i-Lankaran." She may not know the "aliph" or "be" of the Arabic alphabet, and yet may follow the discussions of learned Maulavis as to whether the Arabic word "Budn" in the Koran, when used with reference to the Eed Sacrifice, means a camel only, or includes cattle also. She may compare the philosophy of Herbert Spencer and Mill with that of her own national "Gita." She can tell you whether Schopenhauer's conception of the Hindu philosophy of Karma and Nirvana was right. The Röntgen rays and wireless telegraphy are known to her through the medium of her own language. In fact, in expressiveness and copiousness the Bengali language of to-day has all the qualities found in the most literary languages of Europe.

A cloud of obscurity hangs over the origin of the Bengali language. The city of Dacca was a flourishing capital in the days of Pliny. History shows that a well-known Buddhist temple was built in Sagar Island, at the mouth of the Hughli, so far back as 430 A.D. A map of "Bengal

in the Fifteenth Century," still carefully preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, is of considerable interest ; but Bengal is also mentioned by name in the Raghuvansa a thousand years earlier (500 A.D.). Before the English occupation of Bengal, Gaur and Navadwipa (Nadiya) were the centres of Bengali culture. According to Rennell, Gaur (the modern Malda) was the capital of Bengal in 750 B.C. Tamralipta (the modern Tamluk) was the Mecca of the Buddhists about nineteen centuries ago. Fa Hian, the Chinese priest, visited Bengal in the third century A.D., and lived there for two years. Professor Wilson, in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, refers to Fa Hian's visit to Bengal as a historical landmark, and as fixing one of the few dates in Indian history. Bengal and the Bengali language have always attracted a good deal of attention from European scholars. Dr. Müller's "Relation of the Bengali to the Arian and aboriginal languages of India" offers philological disquisition regarding the Bengali language. Dr. Müller says that Bengali is a direct offshoot of the Sanskrit.

Some scholars are of opinion that the Bengali alphabet is derived from the Indo-Pali or the South Asoka characters used in India before the Christian era. Max Müller, Roth, Bühler, Goldstücker, and Lassen all hold different views as regards the Indo-Pali alphabet. Whatever may be the origin of the Bengali characters, they were evidently in existence five centuries before Christ. According to the *Lalita Vistara*, Vishvamitra taught the great Buddha the Bengali characters. The Bengali characters are a set of symbols, like the Devanagri, though of a somewhat different shape, yet based essentially on the same principles. The Bengali characters are bold and simple. They are easy to remember, and, unlike the Arabic characters, easy to read and difficult to mistake. Bengali, the daughter of Sanskrit, has much of her mother's stately charm and beauty. Many colloquial words in Bengali are, however, of distinctly Magadhi-Prakrit origin. Bengali

owes as much to the Sanskrit as French and Italian owe to Latin. The supple and beautiful rhyming metres of Bengali, though perhaps not direct descendants of the Sanskrit couplets called Slokas, are no doubt derived from the Sanskrit metrification. They are divided into Tripadi and Chaupadi metres. Not otherwise can the rhyming metres of French prosody be traced through old Christian hymns to the hexameters of Rome. For all its resemblance to the parent Sanskrit, Bengali has only few of the blemishes which characterize Indo-Germanic tongues. Its structure is simple, and abounds in vigorous expressions. It is not the result of a coalition of clashing languages as is modern English—that hybrid of Saxon and Norman French. Bengali, notwithstanding the influx of Semitic words and phrases, due to Muhammadan influences, owes its structure entirely to Sanskrit. Literary Bengali consists almost wholly of Sanskrit words, the “bibhakti” or final letters (suffixes) being generally omitted. In short, with a single stroke of the enchanter’s wand, as it were, all the difficulties, such as sex epithets, etc., peculiar to Sanskrit, have disappeared in Bengali. In pronunciation, however, Bengali differs from Sanskrit. The clear brief Sanskrit A in Bengali becomes a dull O, like the “å” of Scandinavian speech. The semi-vowel Y is invariably pronounced as J, and there is no distinction between the pronunciation of V and B.

Before the twelfth century, though Bengali was spoken, it was regarded as vulgar to write Bengali. As the Italians of the period of Dante wrote in Latin, as the Anglo-Saxon writers, even so late as the time of Alfred the Great, wrote in the language of Rome, the Bengalis in olden times wrote in Sanskrit. There was hardly any Bengali literature before the twelfth century. It was in the twelfth century that the songs of Manik Chand roused the Bengali nation to a sense of the beauty of their language. In these songs Buddhism still governs the poet’s imagination. It is evident that caste was then less powerful than in our



own day. The Bengali then travelled widely, and took an active interest in the outer world. Several Bengali Pandits visited Tibet. Rockhill, in his "Life of Buddha," writes: "In 1042 the famous Atish, a native of Bengal, came to Tibet. He wrote a great number of works which may be found in the Bstanhgyur, and translated many others relating principally to Tantrik theories and practices." The Bengali line of the Sena Kings ruled in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and encouraged every literary movement in Bengal. Up to 1203 no foreign invader had penetrated as far as Bengal. All literary efforts were therefore confined to Sanskrit culture. There was then not a Semitic word in the Bengal language.

Jayadeva, a native of Bengal, created a revolution in the literature of Bengal. He was, according to Bühler, born in the twelfth century. His "Gita-Govinda," composed in Sanskrit, immortalized the amours of Krishna and Radhika, and has been called the Indian "Song of Songs." He dealt allegorically with the relations of the soul to God in describing the passionate love which Radhika bore to the man-God Krishna. Sir Edwin Arnold has rendered Jayadeva's song into admirable English verse. Chandi Das lived in the fourteenth century. Jayadeva of Bengal was imitated by Vidypati of Mithila (Behar), and Chandidas imitated his contemporary Vidyapati. Vidyapati, though really belonging to Mithila, is accepted as a master of singers in Bengal, where his verses are still read, although the dialect in which they are written resembles Hindi rather than Bengali.

The great Sanskrit epics—the Mahabharata and the Ramayana—are, of course, well known to Western scholars. They were early translated into European languages. For instance, the Ramayana was translated into French by Hippolyte Fanche, and an Italian version by Gorresio was published at the expense of the then King of Sardinia. Both the great Sanskrit epics were translated into Bengali verse in the fifteenth century, and became very popular.

All over the East, whether in Persia or in India, poetry is widely read even by the humblest classes. Incidents in the life of Rama and Krishna are as well known to the millions in Bengal as the tales of Wallace and the Black Douglas to the Scotch peasantry, or as Robinson Crusoe to English children. The Bengali translations of the epics are by no means perfect; indeed, they are rather naïve paraphrases of the heroic tale rather than translations properly so called. But they have a simple charm which appeals even to cultivated readers, and may be compared not inaptly to such popular European epics as the "Chanson de Roland" or the "Morte Arthure."

The translators made sundry concessions to popular taste which amuse the modern scholar. For instance, Krittibas, the Bengali translator of the great Sanskrit epic "Ramayana," introduced the stories of Mahi Ravan and Ahi Ravan, and the monkey-god Hanuman hiding the sun under his arm, which are not in the Sanskrit original. But Krittibas, the translator of the "Ramayana," and Kashiram Das, the translator of the "Mahabharata," laid the foundations of the Bengali literature. Though good Bengali translations of these great Sanskrit epics have since been published, yet the old editions, in tattered volumes on primitive wooden tablets, are still the staple literary food of the Bengali masses. The masses being illiterate, a Brahman, known as a Kathak, is employed to dole out the ancient mythology to an admiring crowd squatting on a palmyra mat under a canopy of date leaves. The institution of the Kathak, or Bard, like that of the Bhat, is perhaps as old as Indo-Aryan civilization. The masses of Bengal delight in repeating from these epics a priest's curse or a warrior's vow, perhaps because of the forcible language and its quaint impressiveness. Except the Sanskrit couplets, known in Bengal as the "Chanakya Sloka" (the couplets of Chanakya), nothing is more popular than quotations from these two great epics. The "Chanaka Slokas" were handed down from father to son by oral repetition, as was the case with Sadi's verses

in Persia. The Slokas represent the concentrated wisdom of ages in a nutshell. Dr. Haeberlin has collected some of these apothegms in his well-known Anthology. Their universality is beyond doubt, and they contain rules for guidance in critical positions in life. Chanakya is to Bengal what Sadi is to Persia, and perhaps what Lord Chesterfield was to educated English youth a century ago. We shall give the translation of a couple of Slokas to give an idea of ancient Bengal wisdom. Friendship is thus described: "The man who stands by you in the day of feasting and in the day of calamity, in famine and in war, at the King's gate, at the resting-place of the dead, that man is a friend." The English rhyming proverb contains the same sentiment in brief:

"In time of prosperity friends will be plenty ;  
In time of adversity not one in twenty."

Enmity is thus summarized: "A father who runs into debt is an enemy, so is a dissolute mother; a handsome wife is an enemy, and so is an uneducated son." Some of the Slokas are full of homely yet keen common-sense; others might almost be the work of a rustic La Rochefoucauld. In the sixteenth century, however, is the birth of a true literature. With the advent of the religious reformer, Chaitanya (born 1485), the thought and language of Bengal entered upon a new phase. Chaitanya may be regarded as the Bengali counterpart of Buddha, for Vaishnavism embodies in Hindu phraseology the doctrines of equality and brotherhood preached by Sakya-Muni. The religious reformer in every country has always used the vernacular of his country in preaching to the people. Wycliffe in England, St. Patrick in Ireland, Calvin in France, and Luther in Germany, all used the language of the people for the diffusion of new ideas. The Bengali reformer was no exception to the rule. Chaitanya's teachings gave a great impetus to the Bengali language. The "Padakalpataru," "Rasamanjari," "Gita-Chintamani" and "Padakalpalatika" refer to no less than 150 Bengali poets who sang Chaitanya's

doctrines. Some wrote under feminine *nom de plumes*, like Siva-Sahachari, etc. The Chaitanya philosophy became so popular in Bengal that even Musalmans vied with one another to compose songs in the fashion of the day. The verses of at least a dozen such Mahommedan poets exist to this day. The Hindu system, though in theory opposed to proselytism, appears to have thus made proselytes. The Bengali Chaitanya cycle of song has attracted some attention from Western scholars. Professor Newmann quotes: "If thy soul is to go on into higher spiritual blessedness, it must become a *woman*, however manly thou may be amongst men."

In the seventeenth century appeared Mukundaram, whom Professor E. B. Cowell, of Cambridge, called the "Chaucer of Bengal." Mukundaram is better known in Bengal by his title of "Kabi Kankan." Bharat Chandra, a master of mellifluous verse, and Ram Prasad, a famous songster, lived in the eighteenth century. Kabi Kankan and Bharat Chandra were long the favourite poets of Bengal. Unhappily, indelicacy has been one of the characteristics of Eastern literature, and the works of Bharat Chandra, though they display real poetical talent, are often coarsely sensual in idea and expression. The "Annada Mangal" of Bharat Chandra is, however, still popular, while Kabi Kankan's "Chandi," once a highly popular work in praise of the goddess Durga, has lost some of its prestige. Both these poets enjoyed the patronage of the Mæcenas of Hindu literature, Raja Krishna Chandra Roy, of Nadiya. During the régime of Krishna Chandra Roy, Nadiya became the literary centre of Bengal, a kind of Bengali Oxford. In the study of Hindu logic Nadiya still retains its ascendancy, and attracts Brahmin pupils from Benares, and even from distant Dravida (Madras), and Maharashtra (Bombay). There is almost as much difference between the Bengali of a hundred years ago and the Bengali of the present day as between Rabelais and Anatole France, between Chaucer and Tennyson. Modern Bengali is fitted

alike for the philosopher and the man in the street. But the Bengali (especially the official Bengali) of Warren Hastings' time (1772) had not reached its full development. It was written in Bengali characters, it is true. Except the concluding verb, the rest of the sentence had very little to do with the parent Sanskrit. Bengali was largely intermixed with Arabic and Persian, and the vagaries of Muhammadan pronunciation often grated on the offended ear of the man of culture. Even now pronunciation varies as one travels from the banks of the Hugli to the banks of the Padma and further east. In Eastern Bengal *sh* is pronounced as *h*; in Sylhet the sound is labial, in Chittagong nasal, in the Sunderbuns palatal, and in Assam guttural. A man from Eastern Bengal even to-day, though a master of the Bengali language in writing, yet will disfigure it in speaking, as the Scotsman, by his Doric accent, offends the English ear. Those who learn Bengali through "the cold medium of books" can hardly be expected to appreciate the capacity for music possessed by the most harmonious of Indian tongues. The Bengali language is tolerably easily learned by foreigners; thus the majority of Muhammadans in Bengal not only speak, but write Bengali. The Bengali Musalman usually prefers Bengali to Hindustani, and at present there is more than one Bengali monthly review conducted by Bengali Musalmans of light and culture. The Bengali Muhammadan, when speaking, indulges in a language which is more or less a mixture of the phraseology of Kalidasa and of Abul Fazl, of Manu and of Abu Hanifa. The "Muhammadan Bengali" thus fashioned has acquired an inelegant stiffness which would have shocked Panini or Bhatti. But we are glad to notice that the present generation of the Musalmans of Bengal are trying to improve their patois by introducing a larger number of Sanskrit words into their vocabulary; and this gives more life and vigour to their tongue.

A hundred and fifty years ago the Bengali language did not possess a single dictionary or grammar. There was

hardly a prose work of sterling value. It was the missionaries of Christianity who created a revolution in the language and literature. Carey and Marshman found Bengal so much caste-ridden as to make any intellectual effort impossible for the nation. But as Voltaire and Rousseau shook the fabric of the priestly and aristocratic despotism in France, so did Carey, Duff, and Marshman in Bengal. Before the days of these eminent missionaries, as we have already seen, Bengali could not boast of a dictionary or a grammar in the language. In 1778 the first Bengali Grammar was published. It was Halhed's Bengali Grammar, and was printed at Hugli, twenty-four miles from Calcutta. There was then no Bengali type. Sir C. Wilkins prepared the first Bengali type with his own hands. He afterwards edited the "Bhagavat Gita." In 1800 the Marquis of Wellesley founded Fort William College (Calcutta). His masterly minute on Bengali literature is published in Rocbruck's "Annals of the College of Fort William." By pecuniary and other encouragement, he gave an impetus to the cultivation of Bengali which produced remarkable results. It was under the patronage of the College of Fort William in 1801 that Dr. Carey published his Bengali translation of the New Testament, which was followed by his well-known Bengali Dictionary, in three volumes, quarto, containing 80,000 words. In 1816 a Bengali translation of the Gospels, by John Ellerton, of Malda, was published at the expense of the Calcutta Bible Society. The Countess of Loudon founded and endowed a Bengali school at Barrackpore (about nine miles from Calcutta). In twenty years, under the patronage of the Fort William College, in addition to over sixty Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian works, a number of Bengali books were published. Among them were the "Hitopadesha," in 1801, Sergeant's Bengali translation of four books of the "Æneid," and Monkton's Bengali translation of Shakespeare's "Tempest." Most of these books were issued by the Serampore Mission Press. Dr. Carey was to the Bengali language what Dr.



Gilchrist was to Hindustani. In 1813 the East India Company, at the instance of Lord Minto, the great grandfather of the present Viceroy of India, fostered the revival of Oriental letters by an annual grant of a lakh of rupees (£6,600). The result was the discovery of many Oriental books and manuscripts, which made the improvement of the Sanskrit and the Bengali languages possible. The Calcutta Bible Society came into existence in 1811, which received the compliments and approval of the Asiatic Society of Paris. In thirty-eight years it issued no less than 602,266 copies of the vernacular Scriptures, of which about one-fourth were in Bengali. As a result, the Bengali language improved considerably. But the tone was not yet healthy. The Marchioness of Hastings, finding that the Bengali nations could not supply a single native child's book in Bengali, established, in 1817, the Calcutta School-book Society. At that time the Bengali language could no doubt boast of about sixty indigenous works, but most of them discussed only mythological and amatory subjects, quite unfit for the rising generation. It was Englishmen, as Bengali teachers, who filled this gap in Bengali letters a century ago. The names of Mr. Stewart, the founder of the Burdwan Church Mission School, of Mr. May and Mr. Pearson of the Chinsura School, are still remembered with gratitude. Their publications, if not exactly literature, themselves, served to train a new school of writers. They worked with the enthusiasm of crusaders in the malarious and depressing climate of Bengal. They published Bengali books on history, geography, and other educational subjects.

In 1818, the *Digdarshan* (*Compass*), a Bengali magazine, was published. The first Bengali newspaper the *Darpan* (*Mirror*) was started at Serampore on May 23, 1818. The Marquis of Hastings wrote a letter with his own hand congratulating the editor, and directed that a large number of copies should be subscribed for at the public expense, and should be sent to the various native

courts. The postage of the *Darpan* was reduced to one-fourth the usual rate—no small matter in those days.

The Serampore College was founded in 1818, and did much useful work in educating the future authors of Bengal. In 1821 Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of Brahmaism, started his *Brahminical Magazine*. Its main object was to oppose the spread of Christian doctrines. It, however, disappeared in a very short time. In 1823 the Calcutta Tract Society came into existence. But the Bengali language soon after sustained a severe blow in the death of Felix Carey. Among Carey's Bengali translations the following may be mentioned: "On Anatomy," Goldsmith's "History of England," "The Pilgrim's Progress," etc. The *Timir-nashak* (*Destroyer of Darkness*) in 1824, and *Banga Dūt* (*Bengal Messenger*), in 1829, were among the newspapers that, before the Calcutta University was established, tried to stimulate the indifferent and instruct the learner. Subsequently the *Prabhakar*, *Tatvabodhini*, *Bangadarshan*, and various other magazines came into existence. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first Bengali prose-writer. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagara (1850) and Akhay Kumar Datta (1850) gave Bengali prose a classical dress, and it was left to Bankim (1860) to simplify prose style and adapt it to popular narrative.

Professors Derozio and Richardson, of the Hindu College, in the early forties of the last century, created a revolution among the young men of Calcutta. Michael Dutt, one of the students of the Hindu College, was among others permeated with Western thought, and visited Europe in 1848. After his return to Bengal, in 1861, he published an epic known as the "Meghnād Badh," which won for him the distinction of introducing blank verse into the Bengali language. In the last twenty years the Bengali literature has made great strides. There are now Bengali poetesses, and a leading Bengali magazine is edited by a Bengali lady. The name of Srimati Kamini Roy, the talented author of "Alo o Chhāya" (Light and Shade), and of

Srimati Mankumari, writer of "*Kusumanjali*" (Offering of Flowers), are well known to every educated Bengali. Bengali widows sometimes express their grief in poetry. The authors of "*Asrukana*" (Teardrops) and "*Nirjharini*" (Waterfall) are young widows. Their pictures of the woes of the Hindu widow are among the most pathetic and moving lyrical poems that have ever been written in India.

The Bengali language, full as it is of words expressing different degrees of family relationship, has hardly any words that have a political origin. A single Bengali word expresses family ties, to express which in English one requires a long periphrasis. The word "*Jethai*" at once points out the good lady who has married your father's *elder* brother. The word "*Kaki*" tells you that she is the better-half of your father's *younger* brother! The every-day conversation of the average Bengali begins with, and is sometimes limited to, inquiries after the health and welfare of the various members who represent the most distant ramification of the family tree. But one searches in vain for colloquial words for "*liberal*," "*conservative*," or other most ordinary political words of every-day use. Of course, we have recently introduced into our literature pedantic translations of some of the modern political terms; but they are known only to the few, and seldom used even by them in conversation. Though the lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi have been translated into Bengali, the national literature of Bengal contains no political works. As to representative Government in the modern sense, the idea was, of course, unknown to India. A Government evolved out of the wishes of the people was a thing never dreamt of by our ancestors. Implicit obedience to the ruling power was alike inculcated by religion and precedent in India.

The nursery songs and ballads of Bengal are very interesting. Notwithstanding the present Sivaji demonstration at Calcutta, the nursery rhymes of Bengal clearly indicate the hatred felt by the Bengali for the Mahratta—

the "bargi" (bogie ?) of the national nursery rhymes. In Bengali ballads we can see the Bengali feeling towards the Musalman conquerors, and it is by no means always friendly. It is difficult, however, to find a single ballad or nursery rhyme in Bengal uncomplimentary to the English. Nothing could be stronger evidence of the friendly feeling of the Bengali masses towards the English.

In the Bengali language there is always present one strong impress of nationality, the spirit of Hinduism. The Bengali literature is Hindu ; it is sometimes saturated with Hinduism even in the writings of men who got their literary inspiration from Musalman or English writers. The poems of Christian Michael Dutt are Hindu in inspiration ; the admirable novels of Bankim, though collecting ideas from the Musalman as well as Christian literature, are Hindu. The poems of Nabin Sen are also Hindu, though he has sung of the romance of the sea with a Swinburnian enthusiasm. Bengalis delight in calling their popular authors by English names. Michael Dutt is called the "Milton," Nabin Sen the "Byron," and Bankim the "Scott" of Bengal. The educated Bengali likes his own literature only when there is Western thought mingled with it. This may appear paradoxical, but it is true. In Sanskrit erudition all Bengal will admit that Taranath Tarkavachaspati and Bharat Chandra Siromani were much superior to Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar and Swami Vivekananda of American fame. But Vachaspati or Siromani did not receive a tenth of the homage from the Bengali that Vidyasagar and Vivekananda did. Vidyasagar's and Vivekananda's knowledge of English helped them to mix Hindu ideas with Western thought, and hence their popularity. Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the "Scott of Bengal," is another very popular Bengali writer. His "Gita" discusses the views of Western savants like Lassen and Weber. His "Dharmatatva" is practically Mill's philosophy in Bengali garb. Thoughtful Bengalis clearly see that they must try to harmonize Bengali ideas with Western thought.

The *Sahitya Parishad* (the Bengal Academy of Literature) of Calcutta, which numbers among its 600 members eminent High Court judges, members of the Indian Civil Service, barristers, doctors, etc., is now engaged in the study of the bibliography of the Bengali language. It is introducing a scientific system of transliterating Muslim words into Bengali characters. Preference has been given to Grimm's law above the rules of Panini. The new system of transliteration will be on the lines of the one established by the International Oriental Congress of 1894, and adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society.

It will be seen that, as Sir George Birdwood has pointed out in the *Times*, the Bengali language and literature in their modern evolution, extension, and influence, are, so to say, and without paradox, an English achievement. No administrative measure, such as the "Partition of Bengal," will have any injurious effect on the growth of the Bengali language and literature. Burns and Scott are not less English authors, because Scotland is, in a sense, separated from England. In fact, the intellectual eminence of Edinburgh was due to the fact that it was the capital of Scotland. Who knows whether Dacca, the capital of the new Province of East Bengal and Assam, may not yet be another Bengali Oxford, and compete with the Navadwip (Nadiya) of former days? Several of the best Bengali authors hail from Eastern Bengal. Michael Dutt, who is called the "Bengali Milton," and Nabin Sen, the "Bengali Byron," are both from Eastern Bengal. The best history of the Bengali literature extant is written by a native of Chittagong. Administrative divisions have not interfered with the development of the Hindustani (Urdu) and the Marathi languages, and there is absolutely no reason why any administrative separation should affect the language and literature of Bengal.

## “MADRAS IRRIGATION AND NAVIGATION”— A REPLY.

BY GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

IN the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW for October, 1905, there is an article on the above subject by Mr. W. Hughes, M.A., M.I.C.E., in which I am taxed with having written certain articles in the same Review, “based on incorrect information to a large extent,” and against the Indian Government in general, and more particularly against the Madras Government. As regards the matter of writing against the Government, there is no evidence whatever in existence, and I repudiate the charge entirely. That I have commented on the doings of their servants in the discharge of their duties in some important matters I freely admit, and will reproduce the instances by-and-by; for Mr. Hughes very carefully omits all these, and in no instance does he show at all clearly that my information was incorrect except in what he is pleased to call his own opinions.

The manner in which Mr. Hughes argues in general can be gathered very easily from the following statements taken from his article. He says at p. 244: “*It is not the fact that it is governed in the interests of a priestly caste*”; and at p. 249 he says: “We have struck at the root of *caste ascendancy* by offering the same educational facilities to all.” If it is a fact that caste ascendancy did not prevail at all in South India, what object was there to strike at its root? Mr. Rogers says he heard a Madras civilian declare the Brahmins would not let him make some reductions in favour of the common people, and everyone knows this practice prevails all over South India, under the authority and influence of the Head Sheristadar of the Board of Revenue, Madras; but according to Mr. Hughes, this priestly caste has no existence or influence! His experience



of Indian affairs and district administration must be very small indeed.

Mr. Hughes is in error when he says the Department of Public Works was formed *after* the Mutinies; it was instituted about 1854-55. The Mutinies broke out suddenly in 1857, so his long dissertation about *Kudi Maramut* is more whimsical than anything else, for he himself did not come to India for years after the Mutiny had been suppressed, I believe. At this time the Department of Public Works was greatly reduced on account of the state of the finances; all new works, except military, were stopped, but "repairs" were allowed to be proceeded with; and during the years 1857-59, with the assistance of the *old Kudi Maramut*, which had been left to us, I set to work to put the old tanks and channels in the old Bellary districts, having then an area of about 11,000 square miles, into good order. We expended in these three years Rs. 360,000 in improving these works, *storing more water*, etc., with the cordial *cooperation of the ryots*, who never failed in *one single instance* to perform the work they had promised to do, without any stamp agreements, and they also paid a water-rate of Rs. 5 per acre for all lands for which water was provided. By these operations we brought an additional 85,000 acres of land into cultivation, yielding a revenue of over 4 lacs of rupees, so all the original outlay was soon recovered. The cost of maintenance was reduced by Rs. 25,000 a year from the sum which had been usually allowed for the district, and the works were allowed to be in far better order than they had ever been in before even by those who were most hostile to the new Department of Public Works. I always found the members of the old *Kudi Maramut* very useful. None of them were highly educated; some could not read or write their own language; but they were good practical men of experience, and soon learnt to do well with a little assistance and instruction. I consider their method of tamping in an earthen bund much superior to our usual practice; and I

believe, for India, their placing a good thick backing of stiff clay *behind* the stone-facing of tank bunds is far better than the clay puddle-walls in the middle of the bund we usually adopt. The clay in such a position is preserved from cracking by the presence of the water in close proximity to it, and in hot weather the stone-facing preserves it from the heat of the sun. Some of these old people could make a cement of the common "kunker" of this country quite equal to any Portland cement. So, as far as my knowledge of them goes, such people were not to be despised if only properly treated.

Now, if Mr. Hughes can show that by the large outlay on the tank restoration scheme during the years of its existence, with a special extra establishment (its cost is never mentioned), any additional revenue has been secured to the Government, the storage of water greatly improved, and the extent of land irrigated greatly increased, he will have established something in favour of this extraordinary establishment; but so far as the published reports of its working show, there is absolutely nothing to indicate that any great advantages have been secured by it, either for the Government or the people. In fact, it does not appear that this establishment has been employed at all in maintaining even registers of the rainfall. How, then, can it have been of any great use for improving hydraulic works? If I may be allowed to tender some little advice to so great an authority as Mr. Hughes on hydraulic works, I would respectfully advise him to study Sir A. Binnie's paper on the Nagpore Water-works in the *Proceedings of the Civil Engineers' Institute*, London, and he will then learn how necessary it is to maintain registers of the rainfall for as many years as possible in order to be able to execute hydraulic works efficiently. In none of Mr. Hughes' papers does he show that this matter has been properly attended to in Madras by himself or any of his predecessors, and it is, therefore, quite impossible for their works to be in good order or as efficient as possible.

The expenditure on works is no indication that the works are being properly attended to. *The results* for all this outlay should be clearly shown, and a comparison annually made of the cost of establishment, with the outlay on works; otherwise any amount of money can be spent in India, as was done in the old régime, and no results attained, and the accounts were always several years in arrears. A bare assertion that I am mistaken without any proofs is a strange way to dispose of serious public interests.

Mr. Hughes asserts, on his own authority, that my quotation from a letter of Mr. Ragoonatha Row's is "very incorrect and misleading." That letter appeared in the *Madras Mail*, which is a strong supporter of Mr. Hughes' opinions and ideas, has never been contradicted publicly, and as Mr. Ragoonatha Row is a retired deputy collector of the Government service and a large landed proprietor, his statements cannot be set aside in the supercilious manner Mr. Hughes treats a respectable native gentleman.

Before going into further details it will be as well to dispose of the subject of main and cross roads in South India. The two following letters appeared in the *Madras Mail* of October 21, 1905.

#### MADRAS ROADS.

SIR,

May I suggest that if their Royal Highnesses could be induced to drive at least once over all the principal roads of this city they would, in all probability, confer substantial benefit upon its citizens? There would be a chance, at least, of some of the roads which badly require attention, other than those which their Royal Highnesses will traverse, being seriously taken in hand by the municipality.

KILPANK.

I would thank you to publish the following few lines in the columns of your largely-circulated paper, calling the

attention of those who are in charge of the repair of public roads, New Town, which are a disgrace to any municipality, especially the end along the factory. The road is so full of mud ruts that even the wheels of a light carriage sink half their height. The horse drawing the carriage I was riding in along this road had even to stop three or four times to get its wind, it being such a hard pull—and the horse was by no means a weak animal. I would ask those in charge of the repair of public roads to do their utmost to repair this road, even for the sake of the poor animals.

SUFFERER.

If the roads in the chief town of the Presidency are in the condition described by these writers—and here, in the principal military station, these are little better, if at all—it is easy to imagine what must be their condition in the Mofussil, where they are hardly seen by Europeans. It is well known that the good roads made by Sir Mark Cubbon in Mysore are in the most ruinous condition, and that in Travancore they have never existed at all. Mr. Hughes should show very clearly how much the cost of transport has been reduced by the works he so praises. As to "the incalculable benefits" claimed for the railways, that is an old song which is now as stale as a parrot's single note. These works have introduced no new industries into this country; the towns and villages they run through are all in the same condition they were in 2,000 years ago, and the bazaar rates for lending money have more than doubled since their introductions; so it is very easy to estimate "the incalculable benefits" they have conferred on the community, especially as an "expert" employed by the Government has declared their freight charges for passengers and goods are over 80 per cent. too high for the present industrial condition of India, whilst Mr. Hughes declares them to be probably the cheapest in the world! How, then, does it appear the railways are the most profitable works for a miserably poor agricultural community? And

they have never increased the value of real estate by a farthing.

Mr. Hughes states the great imperial systems *now* irrigate 3,000,000 acres, and the larger provincial works irrigate 700,000 acres. He takes care not to give the dates when these works were originated. Of the former more than 80 per cent. belong to the delta works, designed by Sir A. Cotton, and of the latter very much belong to his energetic endeavours. I expect, if the dates are properly looked up, this is another instance of his making bare assertions without any proofs. Mr. Hughes charges me with making a statement in the *Review* of October, 1904 (p. 259), that India, with its most abundant water-supply, is declared to be unable to irrigate more than some 20,000,000 acres of land, and adds: "*no such statement was made.*" *The statement was made* by Lord Curzon, as I said, when he assumed the government of this country, and was based "*on a carefully prepared estimate,*" which had been prepared for his lordship, as can be seen by a reference to my article in the *Review*. All this Mr. Hughes omits, and in the most abrupt manner contradicts me—on his bare assertion, as usual. In the same way he asserts the area irrigated in *British India* from all sources is about 44,000,000 acres. In the last review by the Government of India for the year 1903-1904 this area is given at 21,500,000 acres, being an increase of 1,500,000 acres *in all British India* over the previous year. So much for the correctness of Mr. Hughes' figures. Mr. Pennington (*Review*, July, 1905, p. 181) states: "We have over 44,000,000, or more than a fifth of the cultivated area, actually under irrigation *at the present time*, exclusive of well cultivation." As the Government of India *in their last review* of irrigation in India, for the year 1903-1904, state the extent was only 21,500,000 there is a good opportunity for these gentlemen to correct the errors and mistakes of the Government of India.

Mr. Hughes declares (pp. 250, 251) that I quoted and

misunderstood his statement that "the Godavari cannot be utilized except in the delta." I very much regret if I made any mistake, but I said he *apparently* did so; for when he spoke of the Godavari, I naturally inferred that he meant the whole basin of that great river. When we speak of the Thames, we do not refer to that portion of the river *below* London Bridge. Mr. Hughes informs us that, "in fact, about 200 projects for irrigation in the Central Provinces were brought to the notice of the Irrigation Commission"; but *he omits* to state that these same Commissioners declared it was impossible to carry out any such works in those territories on account of the Zimindari tenure of the land prevailing in them! And this is his way of promoting the public interests of the Government and the community in general, by withholding all the real facts which prevent agriculture being successfully carried on. Mr. Hughes is graciously pleased to tell the public he has not been able to verify the evidence I gave before the Irrigation Commission in 1901, as he has not had any opportunity of consulting the volume of evidence taken before the Commission. This is rather strange, for when it suited his purpose he quotes their report freely—for instance, when he wrote all that "farrago of nonsense" about *Kudi Maramut*, and in many other instances. His surmises about my connection with the Toongabadra project are as fanciful as they well can be. It is quite true this project originated many, many years ago with Sir A. Cotton, and in 1856 the papers were sent to me for investigation. I then pointed out to the Government his proposal to carry the large volume of water over the Huggri River, across the watershed in the Bellary district, to supplement the supply of the Pennar River, was most expensive, and I suggested the Pennar should be supplied by the Khoondaar Valley below Kurnool from the Toongabadra River. The Government ordered this proposal of mine to be submitted to Sir A. Cotton on his return to India, and in 1857-58 Sir Arthur at once approved of my suggestions, and directed me to investigate his project for a reservoir on the Toonga-



badra, and to convey the water from it by a canal, so as to form a junction with the Kurnool works. I found the site for the reservoir, which Sir Arthur was much pleased with, and was making my investigations for the canal in Bellary, when these were stopped by order of the Government, as they considered the Kurnool works were quite sufficient to begin upon. There is the whole matter in a nutshell, and I explained this fully to the Irrigation Commission, and as I was leaving the room Colonel Smart, R.E., introduced himself to me, and said he had never seen the Toongabadra project explained in the manner I had just described, and he thought it was quite feasible, and would remove all difficulties, so I do not see how *he* could have anticipated me. I admit that I did not suggest the tunnel through the hills to the Commission, as I had long considered the subject, and thought the cost far too great for this country, and its execution would occupy many years, when we wanted to relieve the district of all fear of famine as soon as possible. I am not sure, but I think a tunnel of less than two and a half miles in length can be executed in that part of the country. I insisted upon the navigation being made quite through to the coast, and I maintain my opinion as before that the project will not be a success unless through navigation is adopted. On this subject I acted in entire concurrence with Sir A. Cotton's views and opinions. In connection with this Toongabadra project, when Mr. Hughes had described it as being "on a much grander scale," etc., I wrote in this *Review* in October, 1904, as follows:

"Now will it be believed that he and all his predecessors in office for more than forty years condemned this project *in toto*, and advised the Government to abandon it altogether, as all 'official' records can prove?" To this question Mr. Hughes makes no reply, but slurs the matter over, though by his own admission the Government had lost in twenty years some 6 crores of rupees, and in forty years under similar circumstances this loss was not less than 12 crores of rupees, exclusive of the loss of lives and live-stock, simply

for want of this water-supply, *which was always at hand*, but which neither he nor any of his predecessors *took the least trouble about* to save the Government and the people from suffering all these fearful losses and the frightful horrors of famine; and now Mr. Hughes says, at p. 251 of this *Review* for October, 1905: "It is difficult to treat seriously *my vague ideas* regarding the possibilities of extending irrigation in Madras," when he was well aware that the Irrigation Commission had readily accepted my suggestions and proposals as explained to them for carrying out this same Toongabadra project, and had *at once* recommended the work to the Government of India for adoption! However vague my ideas about extending irrigation in Madras may be in Mr. Hughes' estimation, they were very readily accepted by the Irrigation Commission, and in the course of my service in India under Generals Sir A. Cotton, R.E., C. A. Orr, F. H. Rundle, R.E., and Colonel Anderson, R.E., all my proposals were highly approved of and accepted generally. Their incapacity perhaps was not so great as Mr. Hughes', who has not left a *single work* of any importance in Madras, as originated and carried out by himself, on record. The value of his judgment on irrigation can be easily appreciated, as I will proceed to show in reference to the Mopand and Nagawalli River-projects. The Mopand project is a proposal to construct a reservoir on the Manera River, in the Nellore district, and this river is *south of the Pennar and has never had anything done for it*, although Mr. Hughes had declared that 70 per cent. of its waters had been fully utilized. I pointed out that similar rivers in the North Arcot district, south of the Pennar, and, in fact, all similar rivers north and south of the Pennar River all along the Coromandal coast, were in flood in that season, and doing immense damage to the railways, etc. So there was no ground for Mr. Hughes' assertion that there is very limited scope for impounding more water in them, for they were already fully utilized. When the report on the Mopand project was published, it contained

no description of the Manera River, no account of its catchment area, nothing to show what the general incline of its bed might be, or if the gathering ground was composed of hard steep ground or flat soil in general; no observations or calculations of the ordinary or heavy flood discharges of this river were given, and not a single year's register of the rainfall in this basin or in the district accompanied the report. And Mr. Hughes declares my ideas about irrigation are vague!

I assumed the rainfall might be the same as in the adjacent district of North Arcot—viz., 36 inches on an average—and sketched out a project for utilizing this river more fully; but the chief points I insisted upon were that it was very dangerous to construct an earthen dam at such a site, and the peculiar character of the rainfall on this coast. This latter has been just confirmed, for in this very year Nellore reports that over 15 inches of rain fell there in three days. Of this quantity 8·5 inches fell on the first day, and 5·7 inches on the second. There was no cyclone or hurricane about; the storm was apparently one of those frequently occurring at this season on this coast. Mr. Hughes gives the average rainfall hereabout at 28 inches, so that more than half fell in three days, and in the tropics everyone knows what floods such rainfalls create in all rivers, and my contention is that we should make reservoirs large enough to secure as much as possible of this abundant rainfall. In this instance the river has a catchment of upwards of 1,200 square miles, and when over 15 inches of rain fell in three days, it is not too much to assume that 12 inches of it ran off in its floods. During the time these prevailed; this river, then, was conveying 1,200 million cubic yards of water waste into the sea, and I submit it is the duty of an engineer to provide by all possible means to utilize such abundant rainfalls in the interests of the Government and the people, and that is the idea of the engineers in the arid regions of the United States of America. With the data given for the Mopand project as published, I do not think it ought to have been

sanctioned at all. How long this project was in preparation I do not know, but a very similar project for the Nagavulli River in Vizagapatam took *no less than sixteen years* to prepare, under Mr. Hughes' own supervision, during a part of this time. In this case no catchment areas are given, no discharges of the river in ordinary or heavy floods, the rainfall registers *for four years only* out of the sixteen the project was preparing, and in two seasons some observations of the floods were noted, but no calculations of the quantity of water running off appear to have been made. No reservoirs are proposed to be constructed in this river basin, and it is not expected to irrigate more than *one crop* in favourable seasons. Why it has been sanctioned on such data I do not know, but there is no chance of the project ever paying, for no endeavour has been made to utilize the abundant runs-off along this coast in any satisfactory manner. From the peculiar character of the rainfall on this coast, it is absolutely necessary to have large storage reservoirs on all such streams. I may also add that not only did Mr. Hughes and his *confrères* take *sixteen years* to prepare this project, but they want six years to carry out the work, estimated to cost about 8 lacs of rupees. In Sir A. Cotton's day it took three years to build the Godavari Anikut, and he had to go away for a year on sick leave; and in about the same time the Kistna Anikut was built, and the people then were in gross ignorance and darkness. These are the two largest rivers in South India, draining between them nearly 200,000 square miles of country, more than three times the area of England and Wales, having heavy tropical rainfalls prevailing in them. Nowadays Mr. Hughes and his associates, after sixteen years' consideration, want six years to deal with a common jungle stream! I am indeed truly thankful I have lost all touch with such doings and practices—in fact never soiled my fingers with them. I should have liked to see a man go up to Sir A. Cotton, or even General C. A. Orr, and tell them it would take sixteen years or more to deal with a common jungle stream. I do not think anyone

would have attempted to do so a second time, after the blessing he would have received. As projects are generally prepared in such a manner in South India since Sir A. Cotton left the country forty-five years ago, it is perfectly absurd to say irrigation has been properly attended to—for :

1. The catchment areas of river basins in which it is proposed to construct reservoirs are not given, and no description of their physical character, soil, steepness, etc., or the general incline of their beds.

2. No observations or calculations of ordinary or heavy flood discharges, or their duration at certain seasons.

3. No registers of rainfall for as many seasons as possible, nothing said about the intensity of the fall or the rapidity of its run-off, particularly in the tropics. How great this may be is recorded by Sir A. Binnie, C.E., in his paper on the Nagpore Water-works, when he actually measured it was 98 per cent. of a shower of 2.2 inches in one hour and twenty minutes. What, then, is likely to be the run-off in a locality where more than 50 per cent. of the average annual rain falls in three days? No uncommon event this all along the whole Coromandal coast. And then Mr. Hughes tells us it is only possible to store about one-seventh of the *average* rainfall on this coast! Of course, if he constructs earthen dams without any consideration of the peculiar character of the rainfall, or any records of this for a series of years, and maintains that this, and this only, is the proper way to execute hydraulic works, he differs from all common hydraulic engineers, such as the late Mr. Bateman, the present Sir A. Binnie, C.E., and many others; and the *Madras Mail*, and all others who think he is *the only one* capable of giving an authoritative opinion about such works, are perfectly welcome to accept his ideas. Of the progress of irrigation in Madras since Sir A. Cotton left India in 1860, Mr. Hughes himself gives a very good illustration, when he says, at p. 252, that in 1898 a special officer was sent on duty into the Nellore districts *after* the collector had most bitterly com-

plained, loudly and publicly, of *the total neglect of all irrigation works* in his district, and especially of the seven large rivers in it, which were conveying immense volumes of waste water into the sea. When Mr. Ragoonatha Row, a respectable retired native servant of the Government, makes a similar complaint of the state of irrigation works in general throughout the whole Presidency, Mr. Hughes characterizes such statements as being "very incorrect and misleading" (p. 245). On his own bare assertion, why does he not treat the collector of the Nellore district in the same way? Is this the way he did justice and judgment to all His Majesty's subjects in India, as declared should be the rule for public servants under the proclamation of Her late Majesty, without reference to creed, caste, or colour?

Mr. Hughes charges me with making "sweeping assertions of neglect of duty in extending irrigation," etc., and then, omitting the several instances of this given by me, he goes off into a long account of the finances of India, without refuting any of the instances I had produced. To vindicate myself I must reproduce them :

1. The unnecessary delay made in submitting my estimates for the central delta, Godavari district, by which the Government and the people suffered immense losses ; for the Government of India had sanctioned my estimates on the same lines for the eastern and western deltas, with their cordial approbation and thanks, and no revision had to be made for the central delta, *except* to omit my name and substitute another man's.

2. The abuse of the Government's confidence in the matter of the Bangalore water-supply, in giving a prize for a most worthless essay on the subject, in order to secure the best and cleanest water-supply for the late Dewan, who had secured this project for himself in the most disgraceful manner. In consequence this station has been saddled *for ever* with a most unnecessary burden of taxation for water obtained from the filthiest catchment in its vicinity.



3. The deplorable mismanagement in the execution of the Kurnool and Cuddapah Canal, which is almost useless as an irrigation work, and *utterly* worthless for all navigable purposes, thereby entailing a loss of 4 per cent. a year permanently on the country for all the outlay on its hydraulic works.

4. The Toongabadra River project, which Mr. Hughes and all his predecessors totally neglected and condemned for forty years, and the only explanation Mr. Hughes now offers is that I had been anticipated by his successor, when the records of his own office would show him, if he had ever properly studied them, that this statement is "very incorrect and misleading," as Colonel Smart, R.E., admitted to me in a personal interview already described.

This project as originally designed by me for Sir A. Cotton provides for protecting four large districts permanently from famine, provides the means for raising all crops with the greatest security in all seasons, provides an ample water-supply for maintaining man and live-stock in good condition and fit for any work, and, if made thoroughly navigable, as Sir Arthur always insisted upon, the people would have secured to them access to all the markets of the world at *the cheapest* possible rates of transport. According to Mr. Hughes' own figures, the Government have lost already *by the neglect of this project* upwards of 12 crores of rupees. At the rate works are now being executed in Madras, it may take a century to complete this project, for they require six years to deal with a common jungle stream like the Nagavalli River, after expending *sixteen years* in preparing the project! What qualifications Mr. Hughes possesses for passing judgment peremptorily on irrigation projects can be gathered from the way he treats of the Manera and Nagavalli Rivers. He gives no catchment areas of these rivers; no account of their physical characteristics; of soil—if steep or otherwise; no observations or calculations of the probable, ordinary, or heavy flood discharges of these rivers. In

one instance only is the register of rainfall given, and that *for four years only* out of the sixteen years the project was under consideration! and not a single observation about the peculiarity of the rainfall all along the Coromandal coast during storms or cyclones, which are so common throughout its whole length, and have been noted for years by all observers. How heavy these may be we have an instance in this year, when there was no cyclone or hurricane blowing. Nellore reported 15 inches of rain as having fallen in three consecutive days, or more than half the average annual rainfall of the district. As long droughts always prevail after such heavy rains, lasting for six or eight months, Mr. Hughes declares I am wrong in proposing to utilize such abundant supplies of water as much as possible, in order to preserve the lives of the people and their live stock as well as possible, and to secure the Government from all losses as much as possible in famines. Well, he is entitled to hold his opinions, but we never worked so under Sir A. Cotton, and always did our best to promote the interests of the Government to secure their revenue by affording the people the best means to pay it, without its being too great a burden to them. And this is quite clear if we take but a casual view of Sir A. Cotton's great works in the Tanjore, Godavari, and Kistna districts. *Before* these works were established those districts could not pay 60 lacs of rupees a year *securely* to the Government as revenue, they *now* pay 320 lacs a year with perfect ease, without fail, and are the most prosperous districts in all India. Compare this fact with the results obtained by much larger outlay on the Kurnool and Cuddapah canal, whereby a loss of 4 cent. a year permanently has been caused in the returns from all the other works in Madras, by sheer mismanagement and most deplorable incompetency, ever since Sir Arthur left India in 1860; and in this lamentable fiasco Mr. Hughes had a considerable hand. It is therefore useless for him to say so many hundreds of lacs of rupees have been spent in this time,

when he can show no good results whatever for the outlay. And as regards the tank restoration scheme, there is nothing to show that the works have been so well improved as to yield any return whatever for the outlay on them. The cost of extra establishment on this account is never exhibited so as to compare with the annual expenditure. I certainly do not think it worth while to make any reply to Mr. Hughes' observations on inland navigation. I have carefully perused my article in this *Review* for July, 1905, have given the authorities on which it was based, and in no single instance has Mr. Hughes shown that foreign countries have failed to secure great advantages for themselves against us by utilizing waterways as much as possible; and Mr. Hughes carefully ignores all the facts, and tries to throw doubts on the cheap means of transport prevailing on German rivers and canals, though I have shown that on the Aire and Calder navigation at home the rates are far cheaper even than in Germany. His methods of arguing are as follows: He says (p. 260), "The great advantage which Germany has, that most of her waterways are *navigable rivers*," etc., whereas I have shown in the *Review*, pp. 6 and 7, that during the last twenty years more than £1,000,000 has been expended on the Rhine alone to make it as navigable as possible. Many of its tributaries have been improved in the same manner, notably the Main, on which £400,000 has been expended to make it navigable for twenty miles up to Frankfort. Again, at p. 259, he says; "2,400 miles of State canals had to be closed because they could not compete with the railways." At p. 12 of my article in the *Review* for July, 1905, I quoted from "Indian Engineering for the United States": "No figures are given because the *enormous sums* spent yearly by the Government in *improving rivers and in making canals* are too well known for it to be necessary to more than mention the fact." And Mr. Hughes does not hesitate to state publicly that in those States waterways are being discouraged nowadays. What credibility can

attach to his bare assertions? At p. 261 he says: "Taking 8 feet as the economic lift for a lock"—as the limit I presume he means. Now, he must be well aware that in the Godavari canals 10 feet lifts have been most successfully adopted for more than thirty-five years, and my own opinion is that 12 feet lifts can be very easily and economically adopted. What useful object can be obtained by arguing with a man who distorts facts in this manner for no other purpose than to mislead people deliberately.

Mr. Hughes says (p. 250): "The Godavari is the only river, I said, can be made navigable"; but he does not say for what kind or size of vessels. And then adds: "Former proposals have been reported on fully and condemned as impracticable." On what data Mr. Hughes totally fails to show. Sir A. Cotton and Colonel Haig, who had both long studied the subject for many years on the spot, were of opinion the project was quite feasible, if large storage reservoirs were constructed in all the tributaries of this great river, and with them I quite agree. If the project has been fully condemned, is it not rather absurd for Mr. Hughes to ask me to say what kind or size of vessels I would propose to use on it? If I were to do so, I do not know how he would be able to see more clearly than he is able to do at present. In Germany they *first* made their rivers and canals as navigable as possible, and *then* increased the size of their vessels. Mr. Hughes says at p. 261: "It appears to be the almost universal opinion of irrigation engineers that only in very exceptional cases is it advisable to combine navigation and irrigation." Now, I have shown in this *Review*, from official records, that the Ramchendrapooram taluk in the Eastern Delta, which had been furnished with five navigable canals and a cross-cut from Man-Jair to Covoar, affording the easiest access to Cocanadah and all the markets of the world by water transport, was able to pay an assessment of Rs. 9 per acre, whereas the Central and Western Delta, not possessing the same facilities of cheap transport, paid on an average only

Rs. 6 per acre, or 50 per cent. less; and I pointed out what the difficulties were which prevented the Government obtaining a better revenue in them, and how these could be very easily overcome in great part. It is only a very poor native idea to say the soil in Amlapur and Narsapur taluks, in the same Delta formation, are less fertile than in the Eastern Delta. Of these facts and circumstances Mr. Hughes takes no notice in his comments on my articles, showing he knows next to nothing about the law of production from land, and that there are but two methods only by which the limitations of this law can by any possibility be overcome, so as to work the land economically; but these are well known to all land surveyors, and very carefully attended to in estimating the value of real estate.

To show the value and importance of making canals navigable I must mention another instance. In the Western Delta, the Uttali Canal was cut to irrigate 30,000 acres of land about 1852-1853. On my return to the district in 1869-1870, I found this canal did not irrigate, on an average, more than 7,000 acres, although passing through good delta-soil. As soon as my estimates were sanctioned, I ordered this canal to be made navigable at once, in spite of very strong opposition. Before we got in the foundations of the first lock the ryots asked if the navigation was to be completed, and, being fully assured of this, they at once took up an additional 10,000 acres of land for irrigation, and promised to take up all the rest of the land as soon as the second lock was finished. This same canal has since always irrigated about 43,000 acres for first and second crop, and its ramifications are very large, as can be seen in Walsh's "History of the Godavari Works," under whom the works were executed *by my orders*, and very much against his opinion, so he takes good care to omit these facts in his so-called "*veracious*" history. Much the same kind of thing occurred soon afterwards in the Undi taluk, when the navigation was extended into it. And if Mr. Hughes has any doubts in his mind about the matter,

I refer him to the present Major-General Sir A. R. F. Dorward, R.E., K.C.B., for confirmation of my statements, as he was then employed in that part of the Delta. When Mr. Hughes and other irrigation engineers can show by the *results* of their labours that, by omitting navigation or all other means of transport for conveying the products of the earth *cheaply* to all the markets of the world—for a tree is known by its fruit—it will be time enough for them to claim to have done better than Sir A. Cotton did in India. At present they have failed to produce one single instance in which their works have yielded any good results at all, and Mr. Hughes is only attempting to go on stilts before he has learnt to toddle.

When Mr. Hughes says "But, after all, charges of two or three pence per ton-mile are not very onerous for *moderate* distances," and omits to state what are *moderate* distances in his opinion, he makes a very serious mistake as regards production from land. Anything which tends to increase the cost of this is certain to reduce rents or assessments, as all land surveyors well understand. If the Government of India then demanded that the rates on the canal traffic should be increased for revenue purposes, etc., they were very ill-advised, and acted very injudiciously, as all experience shows such a measure would certainly result in throwing lands out of cultivation; and I believe it has done so already, as I stated in my article, for the figures were taken from a review of irrigation by the Government of India. The irresponsible authority Mr. Hughes taxes me with following is the *Madras Mail*, a paper which always supports his views, and therefore he ought not to declare the information it publishes is unreliable. As regards the fluctuations in second-crop cultivation in the Godavari Delta, I showed in the October number of this *Review* for 1903, at p. 20, that these were very serious indeed. In three years there had been a decrease of no less than 167,376 acres, and a probable loss in revenue and value of produce of 25 lacs of rupees. Of this very impor-



tant matter Mr. Hughes takes no notice whatever. As reservoirs in the Upper Basin of the Godavari would prevent all these losses, keep the Delta canals navigable throughout the year, and allow this great river to be made navigable for 400 miles inland, I showed it would be worth while to spend 625 lacs of rupees at a moderate rate of interest to secure such very great and important objects, for it is almost quite certain the second-crop cultivation would be greatly extended as soon as a good and certain water supply was established. But Mr. Hughes declares my ideas on this subject are *too vague for him* to consider ! When Mr. Hughes declared, in a number of this *Review*, that "there *must be* many sites for reservoirs, in which an *abundance* of water can be stored for water-power purposes and *for improving the irrigation* in all parts of the country," he was about right, for his opinions have been fully confirmed by the experience of the two seasons of 1903 and 1905, when, from the abundant rainfall, all the drainages were discharging immense volumes of water, waste, into the sea, and doing great damage to the railways, telegraphs, etc., north and south of Pennar River ; but when he stated that 70 per cent. of all the rivers *south of the Pennar* had been *so fully utilized* there was no room for further improvements, he made far more "incorrect and misleading" statements than Mr. Ragoonatha Row ever did, and much more inexcusable, for he had been the Chief Engineer for Irrigation in Madras, and *ought* to have known much better than any non-professional man how to develop irrigation from such sources, as he himself admits, have abundance of water in them for reservoirs. But the only works he appears to have designed are those for the Manera River, *south of the Pennar*, and the Nagavalli River, north of the same, and, from the manner in which these projects have been worked out, and the fearful delays in their preparation, it is quite evident they cannot possibly pay, and will most probably result in such fiascos as the Kurnool and Cuddapah Canal has done, as above detailed. And these are

apparently all the fruits of irrigation in Madras by Mr. Hughes, his predecessors and successors, since Sir A. Cotton left India in 1860.

Mr. Hughes says, p. 261, in effect, that it is almost impossible and *inadvisable* to combine navigation and irrigation; that it had been *attempted* in the Godavari and Kistna works, as the cases of these deltas was exceptional, but, as usual, he fails to explain why or how; that the navigation has been of *immense benefit*, but it has *always* been carried on under *difficulties*. There he also, again, fails to explain these, and treats the subject much in the way he spoke of the German rivers being *naturally* navigable, omitting to say anything about the insuperable difficulties existing in them by ice in the winter months, and heavy floods from the melting of the snows on the Alps in summer, as well as from long droughts, etc., and assumes to himself the right to dictate to the world on the subject of inland navigation, when it is quite clear from his own statements he does not understand the importance of the subject at all.

I was in charge of the Godavari works for six or seven years, and found them to be almost ruined by sheer neglect; I persuaded the late Colonel Anderson, R.E., to let me have 3 lacs of rupees to put the Cocanadah and Narsapur canals into good order for *navigation* and *irrigation* purposes, and I would then send in estimates for the whole Delta. The Government of India at once acceded to this proposal, and sanctioned the money. These works were then put in hand at once, and in about *twenty months* I had prepared all the plans, surveys, levels, and estimates amounting to 35 lacs of rupees, together with all necessary information about revenue returns. The estimates for the eastern and western Deltas were entirely approved of, and sanctioned at once for execution as soon as they were submitted to the Government of India; I am not responsible for the delays and neglect in submitting to them the estimate for the central Delta, but when at length it was sent up to them just as I had prepared it, this project was readily approved

of and sanctioned, so there is no reason in attempting to blame the supreme Government about funds, etc.

The results attained by this outlay in the eastern Delta generally and the western Delta, by making *all canals* as navigable as possible, have been already described, and more particularly as regards the Uttali and Undi canals, but the most remarkable success of combining navigation and irrigation is shown in the Narsapore canal. I began this work many years ago under Sir A. Cotton; it had been fitted with temporary locks, and was in a very poor condition. It was at once taken in hand, fitted with permanent locks, 150 feet by 20 feet, and 10 feet lifts, which can be very easily filled or emptied in less than two minutes. How long a time does it take in India to pass a goods train through a station? About a couple of days perhaps! whilst the boats lie in the chambers *in perfectly smooth water*. By the way, Mr. Hughes says the success of the German waterways is due to their being able to use large boats of 200 tons burden; he ought to have been well aware that in the Godaveri canals the people have used native crafts of 200 and 300 tons burden for more than thirty-five years. So much for the care and attention he paid to hydraulic works in India. This canal runs on a watershed, and irrigates, right and left, over 75,000 acres of land for first and second crop, and, like the Uttali canal, yields an annual income to the Government far in excess of the capital expenditure on them, and then Mr. Hughes says it is most inadvisable to combine navigation and irrigation unless in very exceptional cases! It is quite evident he never learnt how to do so, or took any trouble about it.

In the year 1872-1873 all the works in progress were inspected by General F. H. Rundle, R.E., the Inspector-General of Irrigation in India, who toured with me all through the Deltas and up the river, and he reported in most favourable terms on their progress and prospects; in 1877-1878, when I was at home, I had long and intimate conversations with Sir A. Cotton about his great project,

and he was not only perfectly satisfied with all I had done to save the works, and the progress I had been making in developing them, but in the kindness of his heart he said far more to me than it would be becoming in me to repeat, and now Mr. Hughes, who cannot show that he ever did any work of any importance in India to promote the interests of the Government or the welfare of its people, comes forward to sit in judgment on Sir A. Cotton, and to condemn the principles on which he worked, on his bald *ipse dixit*, although the success of Sir Arthur's works have been abundantly acknowledged on all hands, and proved by the good results obtained, as shown in the several instances above detailed. The current in a navigation canal must indeed be bad if it is a greater obstacle to traffic than the steep gradients so common on Indian railways. The ease with which irrigation and navigation can be combined has been amply proved by the success of all the Godaveri canals under proper management and careful supervision.

There is a fact recorded in Walsh's history of these works, on the authority of the collector of the district, which Mr. Hughes, as usual, ignores, and which ought to have enlightened him, if it is possible to do so. Some years ago the head lock of the eastern delta was destroyed by a heavy flood in the river, and through navigation was stopped *for four months only*, whilst it was rebuilding. By this interruption the trade of the port of Cocanadah *decreased* by 33 lacs of rupees, and, in the face of this fact, Mr. Hughes wants us to believe navigation is of very little or no importance to an agricultural community whose products are of great bulk and small value. The French, Germans, and Americans think very differently.

On the evidence I gave before the Irrigation Commission in 1901 the Toongabadra River project, though condemned by Mr. Hughes and all his predecessors, was entirely revived, and at once recommended to the Government of India for adoption. It has now been investigated—on what lines I do not know—and accepted by the Madras

Government, and recommended for sanction ; but, as the navigation has been entirely left out, I can only repeat my *firm conviction* that it will be a failure. It may afford some protection from famine, *but* without affording the people the freest, easiest, and *cheapest* means of access to the most extensive markets of the world, the industries of the population cannot be promoted, and the project cannot possibly answer all good purposes, so as to secure the fullest benefits to the Government and the people, as we have done in the Godavari district, by combining irrigation and through navigation with the greatest success ; and there is absolutely nothing to prevent the same principles being carried out on the Toongabadra project by judicious professional skill and management. When I took charge of the Godavari works in July, 1869, the irrigation had *decreased* by 40,000 acres in the eastern delta. The extent of land irrigated in the whole Delta was about 430,000 acres, and the total revenue of the district about 55 lacs of rupees. By my estimates, amounting to 35 lacs of rupees, it was provided to make all the canals fit for irrigation, and all as navigable as possible, *and there was no difficulty whatever in doing so*. The results, as far as I am able to judge now, have been to extend the irrigation nearly, if not quite, to 900,000 acres of land, the revenue of the district has increased to upwards of 110 lacs of rupees, and we have seen above how important the navigation had become when the stoppage of it *for four months only*, reduced the trade of the port of Cocanadah by 33 lacs of rupees. All accounts agree in showing that the district is now one of the most flourishing in India. I do not know what the total outlay up to date may be on the lines I had laid down, but I do not suppose the expenditure has exceeded 40 lacs of rupees, whilst the revenue has been permanently increased by 55 lacs of rupees. Compare these results with those obtained on the Kurnool and Cuddapah Canal during the time Mr. Hughes and his confrères have been employed on it,—nearly half a century. The capital outlay is between

200 and 300 lacs of rupees, and the *grand result* is that the returns on all the capital expended on irrigation in Madras has been permanently *reduced* by over 4 per cent. This canal has been laid out so as to be almost useless for irrigation, and is *totally* worthless for all navigation purposes, and this is what Mr. Hughes considers as the great progress Madras has made since Sir A. Cotton left the country in 1860. As the largest work carried out since his day is such a miserable fiasco under the management of the new régime, there is no reason for believing minor works have been better attended to, for if the blind lead the blind, everyone knows what the consequences *must* be; and it is worse than useless to say hundreds of lacs of rupees have been expended on irrigation in this time when not a single good result has been, or can be, shown.

P.S. In *Indian Engineering* of November 4, 1905, p. 304, it appears from the Board of Trade's report on British railways for the year 1904 the total receipts amounted to £111,000,000; the net receipts were £42,000,000, so working expenses, maintenance, etc., amounted to £69,000,000 or 62·2 per cent. The dividend on ordinary stock was only 3·25 per cent., the lowest return of recent years. It is instructive to note that in the growth of railway receipts England has even been passed by Germany, when for the year 1903 they amounted to £113,000,000; while the return on the capital invested in the German railway system in 1903 was 5·95 per cent. against the 3·39 per cent. of the British railways.

From the above it would appear that though the German railways have to contend against river and canal transports, their returns on capital invested are 2·56 per cent. better than the British railways yield when every endeavour has been made to benefit them by obstructing canal transports. It is very well for Mr. Hughes to deny this on his own authority, but a Committee of the House of Commons has admitted the fact that this policy has been allowed to



prevail far too much, and there can be no doubt this same policy has been introduced into India by the same class of people under cover of the excuse that the receipts for navigation did not cover the expenses of the establishment maintained in the Godaveri canals, overlooking the fact that this same establishment has to attend to the distribution of the water for irrigation as well as many other duties, such as seeing the banks, etc., are kept in good order. From my own experience in working the Godaveri canals, I would reduce the license fees to 4 annas a ton a year for mere registration purposes, and have only one tax as a water-rate; the curse of all Indian administration, is that rates, cesses, etc., are multiplied at the caprice of small-minded officials under pretext of making revenue for the Government, without much thought about harassing the people who are engaged in cultivating the land. The Government of a great country ought not to act as a petty landlord to get all he can out of his little holding for his own private purposes; they ought to consider what will be most beneficial to the society in general as Adam Smith so often says. As the railways did not till very lately pay for the guaranteed interests, why were they not taxed to make up this deficiency?

## NORTHERN NIGERIA.\*

SIR F. D. LUGARD has presented a full and very interesting report on the state of affairs in Northern Nigeria. It has been prepared for the Intelligence Division of the War Office. His notes of inspection cover fifteen provinces, whose capitals he has visited and otherwise settled on the grounds of health. The distance travelled in this connection is over 2,000 miles by land and over 1,600 miles by water.

The general organization of the administration, both central and provincial, has made considerable progress during the year. Political and intelligence sections have been created in the High Commissioner's office, which have greatly increased efficiency, and enabled him to cope with work which was becoming too heavy. He was thus able to visit the head-quarters of every province, except Sokoto, and personally to confer with the residents and the native chiefs on subjects of administrative or political importance; and, with the advice of the principal medical officer and the director of public works, to settle the question with respect to the permanent site of each Government station. The opportunity was also taken to formally instal the ruling Emirs who had been appointed under Government sanction, and for the first time an oath of allegiance and fidelity was administered to each. The personal interview with each Emir, and discussion with each Resident on administrative problems in each province, were of great value in promoting a knowledge of the policy of government, while to the High Commissioner it was an incalculable advantage.

In regard to provincial organization, six out of the seventeen provinces into which the Protectorate is divided—viz., Sokoto and Gando, Kano and Katagum, East and West Bornu, have now been formed into double

\* Collated from the recent Parliamentary Colonial Report, No. 476, for 1904, presented to Parliament November, 1905.

provinces, under the charge of three "First-Class Residents," selected for their special ability and long experience. The desire of the High Commissioner is gradually to extend this system, and thus to relieve the central administration of the direct supervision of the seventeen separate units, and to devolve upon the officers who have proved themselves most fitted for increased responsibility, a larger measure of administrative control. The admirable qualities of the Fulani as rulers—when once they have realized that former evil practices must cease—will enable the administration to be carried on efficiently with a less number of British officers. The progress of the native chiefs in methods of civilized rule is very marked and satisfactory. During the year an event of unusual and political importance was the personal visit of the Emir of Kano to Zungeru, and the Embassy of the Waziri from Sokoto. The latter who formerly opposed us in arms made this voluntary recognition of the British rule. The head of the Mussulmans sent his Waziri to salute the Governor, and had intended to come himself, but has expressed a desire to do so in future years.

The staff is in every way capable and devoted to the service. The higher grades of Civil Service are becoming experienced administrators, to whom large responsibilities can be rightly entrusted. The administrators' staff is still insufficient for its numerous duties, and it has been found impossible to obtain an adequate supply of properly qualified native clerks. A scheme for introducing some subordinate officials from India is now under consideration. A matter of almost vital importance is the knowledge of the local language, and, in this respect considerable progress has been made alike on the civil and the military side. A language test to qualify for promotion in the political department has been established, and for this reason the higher posts are almost invariably filled by selection from among the junior ranks, and not by introducing officers from outside.

With respect to taxation, the High Commissioner is of

opinion that while indirect taxation by means of customs on the coast is an ideal way of raising revenue (especially when, as here, exports are limited to raw materials and imports consist wholly of manufactured goods), nevertheless, the principle of direct taxation, though it should be cautiously applied and should at first be very light, should not be wholly set aside in laying down the lines which are to govern the future development of the country. Northern Nigeria has no sea-board on which to collect custom dues, and, owing to its distance from the sea and consequent transport charges, it offers less attraction to trade (on which alone customs are levied) than the Southern Protectorates. Northern Nigeria has also to maintain a powerful military force and derives no revenue from trade spirits, the importation of which is entirely prohibited. Internal fiscal frontiers were abolished, when the Niger Company's territories were transferred to the Crown. The basis of taxation must depend largely on direct contributions, if the country is to pay its fair share of the general revenue. Such a system has been in operation from remote antiquity ; and the first step towards raising a revenue by such means consisted in studying the existing systems, so that Government, when instituting its scheme, might act in harmony with the traditions of the country, and, while providing a revenue, should at the same time assure to the native chiefs a fair proportion of the proceeds, and introduce only such reforms as should simplify and cheapen the collection, regulate its incidence upon the people more fairly, and reduce as far as possible the opportunities for extortion and oppression. As the native chiefs have lost their income derived from slave raiding and from taxes on traders, it has become necessary to arrange for revenue, in another direction, in order to meet this loss and to secure their loyal services. This change has had the beneficial effect of bringing the British staff into close touch and relations alike with the peasantry and with the ruling classes. Thus the rulers learn to recognise that their interests are identical

with those of the administration and a close co-operation is established, while the peasantry look to the British officers as their guardians and protectors against irregular demands and oppression. The security afforded for life and property and the certainty that the amount fixed as payment will not be arbitrarily increased, are a blessing so great that the payment of a reasonable tax falls lightly on them, while the direct payment of each village through its own chief to the district head-man will gradually have the effect in practice of emancipating the greater part of the rural population from slavery, or serfdom, and promoting a sense of individual and communal responsibility to take the place of slavery, as the institution gradually expires. Moderate taxation seems to supply an incentive to industry and production, which is needed in a country where pressure of population does not exist, owing to the depopulation of large areas caused by former misrule, and where the fertility of the soil and the employment of women in manual labour leave the male population ample leisure when debarred from the "pass-time" of inter-tribal quarrels. In carrying out the scheme referred to under the Land Revenue Proclamation of 1904, the reports of the Residents have been satisfactory, but it is stated that an increase in the political staff is absolutely necessary to give proper effect to it, and thus to assure to the native chiefs the payment of such dues, which they cannot now collect for themselves, as will enable them to maintain their position, while assuring a growing revenue to the Government. This scheme has met with general approval and satisfaction.

The total number of slaves liberated during the year 1904 was 564. The constitution and working of the native courts, of which eighty had been established at the end of 1904, have made progress. The returns of the principal cases are submitted to the Residents, and are examined by the High Commissioner with the object of making suggestions and promoting uniformity of sentences. The courts deal almost entirely with civil causes and petty criminal

cases. Since the abolition of the punishment of mutilation and the Government requirements of decency and humanity in imprisonment the native tribunals have been deprived of their most effective punishments for serious crime. It appeared, moreover, to be advisable that the powers of each court should be limited until it had proved that former abuses had ceased. Increased confidence in the impartiality of the native courts appears to be shown by the people, in as much as there has been no complaint of unjust judgments, or of bribery. The High Commissioner hopes to be able to establish a school of law for the training of Mallams at Sokoto. The appointment of a native judge to review the sentences of all native courts would probably be of great value, and would, he thinks, give much satisfaction alike to the native Emirs and to the Alkalis as proving the intention of Government to uphold the dignity of the courts, and non-interference with the law of the Koran. The courts in Bornu have not proved very successful, and in pagan countries but little progress has yet been made.

The population of the various provinces is estimated to be 9,161,700. The proportion per square mile in some of the provinces is about three; in other provinces, such as Bassa, it is nearly 143.

In regard to trade, the institution of caravan tolls has enabled the administration to collect a quantity of detailed information as to the nature and quantity of articles carried by traders. At first the Government "caravan tolls" in substitution of the exorbitant levies at every turn were levied on "down" caravans; but now they are levied both on "down" and "up" caravans. After careful inquiries from all the Residents, the High Commissioner has received from every province reassuring reports to the effect that the traders pay the dues most willingly, and welcome this system of tolls as a great relief from the exactions of the past, and the enforced delays. He is not satisfied with this form of taxation and hopes to be able to largely modify it, if not to abolish it, by merging it in the general tribute tax.



In order to supplement the grant-in-aid by some local revenue, direct taxation has been instituted. The levy amounts to nearly £34,500, being one-third of the local revenue. Trade is increasing rapidly.

The imports of local origin are chiefly (1) salt from the North and East (Asben and Manga); (2) natron from Damageram and the East; (3) cattle and horses from Sokoto and Bornu; (4) kolas from Ganja and Lagos; (5) antimony from the Benue. Imports of European origin are (1) from Tripoli, English cloth, majenta-coloured thread in great quantities, beads, sugar, scent, mirrors, needles, spices, pepper, burnouses, horse-trappings, and a large quantity of writing-paper; (2) from the South, English cloth, salt, German dyes, and Austrian beads. Exports to Europe are leather, ivory, and feathers (the two latter from Bornu; feathers also from Sokoto). The bulk goes to Tripoli. Skins cost 6d. in Kano and realize 2 francs in Tripoli.

Regarding "economics," the first serious attempt to develop the economic resources of the Protectorate was in the year 1904. The High Commissioner, along with Mr. Elliott, the forestry officer visited various regions and made minute inquiries. His conclusions are "that there are very valuable areas containing rubber, which are either untapped, or are being destroyed by injudicious methods; that many other commercial products exist, and demand development; and that the prospects of a great cotton industry are good, the soil admirably adapted to it, and its cultivation well understood by the people. On the vast and little cultivated, lacustrine plain on the shores of Chad there were cotton bushes of such enormous size, that Mr. Elliott pronounced their measurements as almost exceeding credibility." The acacia forests of Bornu yield the gum most valued in European markets, and it may be found possible to develop this product by improved means of transport. Samples of cotton from each province were sent early in 1905 to the British Cotton-Growing Associa-

tion, and Mr. Hutton, an expert, writes: "I can say that the cotton appears to be of excellent quality, good long staple, and just the class we require in this country and which we are most short of, and there is no doubt that if we could develop trade in this class of cotton there would be a great future before Northern Nigeria."

With respect to minerals, it appears that limestone of excellent quality, suitable to mortar, which will replace the costly import of Portland cement for all masonry work, occurs in many districts bordering the Benue. The High Commissioner regards this discovery "as of the utmost importance, and second only to a discovery of coal in its value for the internal development of the Protectorate. The construction of bridges, culverts, and buildings of all kinds, will, by its means be greatly cheapened, and it is possible that its excavation, burning, and transport to the place where it may be required may become a native industry similar to that in natron, which is now so widely extended." The salt from the brine springs of Awe and elsewhere has been analyzed at the Imperial Institute, and it appears probable that a nearly pure salt could be prepared without difficulty. The present output is estimated at 277 tons per annum, obtained during the dry season only. The development of these springs is being investigated. "Among the minerals obtained by the Survey may be mentioned: Magnetic iron-ore of excellent quality, galena containing some silver, and tin-bearing sands, all of which are being investigated with a view to determining their commercial value. The examination of the sands of certain rivers has revealed the fact that small quantities of monazite occur. This is a valuable mineral containing thorium, which is now in considerable demand at high prices. These deposits will also be thoroughly investigated. No new prospecting licenses have been granted during the year; but the Niger Company have proceeded with the thorough investigation of the tin deposits in the area, for which they hold an exclusive prospecting license."

It is understood that their skilled experts have reported highly upon the probable results of this enterprise, and that the Company will shortly ask for mining licenses over specified areas."

"The exports of "Kano leather" appears to offer prospects of a valuable development. "I am informed," says the High Commissioner, "that these skins are in very great demand in England, both in the bookbinding and the upholstering trades. It is probable that it will be more profitable to purchase these skins untanned, and to export them in this state. I am informed that while skins cost from 3d. to 6d. at Kano, as much as 7s. 6d. is offered for a good skin in this country; but the admixture of spotted, imperfectly prepared, or unequally strained skins reduces the value of a considerable proportion in each consignment. The development of this trade is likely to be taken up by a Company formed for the purpose."

Captain Harford, assistant resident in the Sokoto Province, having had much experience in South Africa and California, after careful inquiry and personal inspection, pronounces the district north of Sokoto to be "an ideal ostrich-breeding country; it has all the qualifications necessary, sandy soil, dry atmosphere, and no frost." He proposes to start a small model ostrich farm in the district, and also in North Bornu, in order to show the natives by actual results the value of better methods in farming, and thus greatly to increase the value of this industry.

The actual revenue collected each year, apart from Customs dues which are collected by Southern Nigeria and Lagos, is steadily increasing. For example, in 1900-1901 it was only £2,180; in 1904-1905 it was £89,604; and it is estimated that for the year 1905-1906, £93,589. Customs stations have been instituted on the frontiers towards French and German territory, and each Resident is a Custom's officer. The imports from Southern Nigeria and Lagos have free entry into the Protectorate, with the exception of salt, which pays a duty of 1s. per cwt. The

customs accruing on all goods entering from these Protectorates are collected at the coast ports of entry, and are included in the revenue of those governments. The Tripoli Arabs have availed themselves extensively of the parcel post, and Customs' dues amounting to about £600 have been collected on articles thus imported. The revenue from Customs, which had been *nil* in the previous years, amounted to £6,463 in 1903-1904.

The establishment of a coin currency has made progress, especially silver. This amounted in 1901 to £90,000; in 1904, £198,000. The Niger Company has now agreed to purchase produce with cash if demanded by the natives, and this will, of course, greatly promote the circulation of coinage.

The question of transport has engaged the attention of the High Commissioner for the past four years, and he now expresses the view that the best way of meeting the difficulty involved by the use of carriers along the main route between Zungeru and Kano, would be the construction of a very light surface rail or tramway, and by the provision of cart-roads and the introduction of wheeled transport. During 1904 some progress has been made in this direction. The railway surveyors, sent out by the Secretary of State, have completed their work, which may lead to the construction of a light and very cheap line from Baro on the Niger to Kano, which the Commissioner has long advocated. The section already constructed between Zungeru and the Kaduna at Barijuko (twenty-two miles) has proved invaluable. The construction of cart-roads is progressing in various departments, as well as transports by water, both for goods and passengers. Also the erection of telegraph lines is proceeding to the extent of 564 miles.

Medical and meteorological services continue to be sustained, as well as police and prison arrangements.

The total revenue, including local Parliamentary grant contributions, from Southern Nigeria and Lagos amounted

in 1900-1901 to £135,729; it is estimated that in 1904-1905 it will be £519,945. The total expenditure, under various heads, in 1900-1901 amounted to £96,457; and for 1904-1905 it is estimated that it will amount to £505,282.

In regard to elementary schools, they are chiefly carried on by the Church and other Missionary Societies. But "a school conducted under Government auspices is greatly needed, where the sons of chiefs could be taught English, and fitted in various practical ways for the responsible positions they may later occupy, and where they might learn to understand the habits of thought of Europeans and to grow more in touch with them. There is also a great need for an establishment where educated Mallams might be taught English, and the reading and writing of Hansa in the Roman character, without prejudice to their religion, so as to fit them for employment as interpreters and political agents, etc."

## "ZARATHUSHTRA, PHILO: THE ACHÆMENIDS AND ISRAEL."\*

THE author of this work announces it as being, when supplemented by a second volume, in substance his University Lectures for 1901-1904. He was led on to the subject, as he states, by a request which he received some few years ago from the trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation Fund of Bombay to write a book on the antiquity of the Avesta. The occasion of the request was the sudden change of opinion on the part of Dr. Mills' own colleague, Professor Darmesteter, who startled the world some years before by recalling his views as to the age of even the oldest portions of the Avesta, the Gāthas.

Dr. Mills seems to be placed in a somewhat delicate position. He expresses himself in a very complimentary manner with regard to his singularly acquired opponent. After introductory matter, he devotes considerable space to a close discussion of the document called "Tansar's Letter," which was brought into prominence by an admirable edition by Professor Darmesteter, with a translation by Ahmed Bey Agaëff, a young Musulman from the Caucasus, at one time Darmesteter's pupil.

This was published and translated, apparently, in order to suggest that sufficient culture existed at the date of Ardashir for much Avesta to be written; and as collections and redactions of the Avesta documents must certainly have taken place at a time when the Zoroastrian religion was being formally re-established as the State religion of the Persian Empire, the composition of matter which might well deserve the name of Avesta may have taken place there and then. To this Dr. Mills fully accedes;

\* "Zarathushtra and the Greeks," Vol. I., pp. xiii + 208; being in substance University Lectures delivered in 1901-1903 by Dr. Lawrence Mills, Professor of Zend Philology in Oxford.—This work may be had from F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig.



indeed, he does not attempt to limit the lateness of the age at which portions of the now extant Avesta may have been composed, and even suggests that such persons as Tansar could not well have helped writing or rewriting religious documents of the kind indicated. He opposed his colleague, chiefly, though not exclusively, as to the matter of the Gāthas. The French savant held at the latter period of his valuable life that even the Gāthas were composed at so late a period as about the time of Christ, not precisely stating their exact date.

Both Professor Darmesteter and Dr. Mills recognise this alleged letter of Tansar's as containing, as it now stands, large portions of later interpolated matter, and both of them hold that there exists in it a nucleus of truth; that is to say, Dr. Mills holds that its nucleus corresponds to what we would term nowadays a "political pamphlet"; but he, Dr. Mills, carries his excisions far beyond those of the editor. In fact, he finds nearly the entire bulk of the piece in its present shape to be impossible as a composition of A.D. 226 or thereabouts. He is particularly struck with allusions to "predestination," etc., which have the familiar look of the religious discussions of Perso-Arab authorities from the ninth century on.

Dr. Mills repudiates the idea that the Gāthas could have been written as late as the time of Christ, first and chiefly on account of their personal and passionate tone. He does not think that sentiment of the kind expressed would be contained in a dead language once spoken in Iran; and the Avesta speech had ceased to be a living tongue for centuries. He does not forget that much personal feeling has been expressed in a Sanskrit language which had long ceased to be spoken; but he does not think that the two cases afford a parallel. He can see no evidence that Iran possessed such centres of artificially cultivated literature as India did; and he deems it to be highly improbable that any persons situated as the Zarathushtra of the Gāthas was, together with the other members of his circle, would

have made use of a dead language in addresses, some of them especially prepared for public recital. Two of the Gāthas, as he shows, were introduced by expressions addressed to gatherings of the people, and were evidently composed to be memorized by the various local priests, and taught in their homes, "from near or from afar."

This likewise, as he thinks, disposes of the theory of intentional misrepresentation. He thinks it extremely unlikely that they could have been forged as impostures at so late a period as the Christian era. He seems to rest his case for their antiquity almost entirely upon internal evidence, and even says in one place that, "if any passage occurred in the Gāthas which asserted that they were composed at any given early date, he would reject the place with contempt" (see his Preface to the Second Edition of the Gāthas, English Verbatim and Free Metrical, 1900). This is going rather far. He probably means to emphasize his own extreme position in the critical school.

To lose sight of all external evidence seems to be out of all keeping with prevailing ways of looking at such things. In the case of the Gāthas, however, he has what would seem to be enough to mislead anyone in this direction, for next to the Behistun inscriptions, which strongly resemble the Gāthas in this respect, they are, perhaps, the most "personal" of all equally ancient compositions of their kind. To imitate such pieces in Ancient Iran at the late date of A.D. 1-226, so as to make them appear to be the compositions of a contemporaneous living person, seems to Dr. Mills to be a task beyond the power of any composer then present in that country, where literature did not flourish till much later.

The author devotes the rest of the book to a comparison of Vohumanah or Asha with the "Lógos" of the Greek philosophical writers, including Philo. This is done to controvert the opinion that these concepts, Vohumanah, Asha, etc., owe their origin to the suggestions of Philo Judæus.

Dr. Mills works up this part of the subject quite elaborately, both making use upon the well-known specialists as well as of the original texts, this last especially in the case of Philo. He recalls that the Greek "Lógos" often corresponds to Ahura Mazda, rather than to any of His creatures (see the places). But his sheet anchor seems to be the fact that the "Lógos" of the Greeks in the philosophically dualistical systems of Anaxagoras, Plato, etc., was evolved to abridge a supposed chasm between God and impure matter, an idea which existed neither in the imperfectly co-ordinated system of Zoroastrianism nor in the Greek Monism.

The author concludes with the argument that neither Vohumanah nor Asha could have come from the Philonian "Lógos," because they—Asha, Vohumanah, and the rest of those six ideas, as personified called Amshaspends—existed superabundantly in the Rîg Veda ages before Philo lived.

Several of the chapters in the book are rewritings of articles which have appeared in this *Review*, and some of them in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. We understand that the second volume of the work will be soon in the binder's hands. Its title will be "Zarathushtra, the Achæmenids and Israel." It will deal with the doctrines and internal animus of the inscriptions and the Avesta, and contains an approximately complete, though scattered, translation of the greater part of the first.

## ARABIC VERBS.

BY A. H. KISBANY, B.A. (BEYROUT).

THE verbs are chosen for treatment in this short article in preference to nouns for no other reason than that, being uniform and regular in theory at least, they afford an easier method of demonstration; and it will be seen that its main concern is with one class only, the Ayin doubled. In Arabic, as, indeed, in all the Semitic languages, the verb, more so than the noun, adheres to a standard rule in its radical and derivative forms; and in theory every verb, without exception, is perfect and regular, and must agree with the paradigm. The actual irregularity of certain verbs arises from the nature of the letters that enter into their construction, and those irregularities are in their turn regular and governed by rules and provisions that are binding on every form.

The Ayin doubled verb is a class by itself, and it shows in the trilateral and derivative forms a wide deviation from the standard; and like the weak verbs it starts with a loss, in its radical trilateral form, of one syllable, that seems to denude it from its verbal character. It will be contended, as school-books teach, that the loss of one syllable is superficial: one vowel is sacrificed, the second and the third letters are contracted into one, to secure harmony in sound, and avoid needless repetition of the same consonant. This much will be readily granted if it were proved beyond all doubt that the root originally consisted of three consonants, of which the second and third were alike in sound if not in vowel also. The writer hopes that it will not be considered inconsistent to question the correctness of this theory in its entirety; and while admitting the trilaterality of the root, the real identity of the second letter is, in his humble opinion, open to grave doubt.

In order to get at the real reason for the existence of

such contracted forms, and to determine their original consonantal constitution, it is necessary to look deeper, and go as far back as is possible to the early periods of Semitic speech, and investigate the causes and effects of circumstances and the evolution of voice. No records are available as sure grounds to build upon, but in such cases it is permissible to utilize results as bases for this sort of philological investigation.

From a study of etymology, as it is now constituted, it will be inferred that the Semites in their early stages of conveying thoughts and naming actions in compound tri-consonantal sounds—if this expression be allowed—have, with a wide field for choice before them, confined themselves in certain cases—Ayin doubled verbs are in great minority in their respective languages—to the mere repetition of the second sound. Unless there be a scientific reason why they should do so, this theory seems at its best an assertion with very little or nothing in its favour except an easy way of explaining away an anomaly. Or can it be that Ayin doubled verbs are remnants of the monosyllabic (two consonantal) dialect that preceded the dissyllabic (three consonantal), and that their inclusion in the latter category is a device resorted to by the compilers of the language in their great desire to regularize its study? This alternative is untenable. These verbs are triliteral, and any possible monosyllabic dialect does not come within the scope of this article.

Another explanation remains, and has much in its favour. It rests on what appears to be sound foundation, and to it the writer wishes to draw the attention of Orientalists. They may take it as a mere suggestion, and are invited to accord to it consideration as it deserves. It is this: That Ayin doubled verbs originally consisted of three absolutely different consonants, of which one or two—the second or the third—were, in the majority of cases, gutturals, either the Hamzah, H'a, Ayin, or Ha, sometimes liquids (Ra, Lam, Meem, or Noon), and rarely strong.

If we look into the human voice itself, and in the light of natural science retrace its growth, we find, judging by the sounds of the lower animals, that in its first stages it was prominently a throat voice; the sounds emanating from the larynx were shaped and modified by the action of the muscles of the throat only, a process that invariably produces gutturals. The lingual and labial sounds are of comparatively much later date, for it must have taken man many long centuries to develop tongue and lip, and adapt them to the use of speech. If this be so, and science must decide the point, it follows that in the anterecord period gutturals were prevalent in the language; and in the course of time, as man gradually developed tongue and lips and acquired a finer sense of hearing, and as separate and distinct tribal dialects took shape, and poets took liberties with many words and twisted them to suit their fancies, styles, and meters, and as defective mouths and ears were among the channels of conveying pronunciations, and to this added a great number of minor causes, many gutturals, which are harsh and repulsive to delicate ears, were dropped from use, and sweeter notes adopted. That so many gutturals still remain in the Semitic languages is due to the great importance that they (languages) have as integral parts of the religions of the race, and but for this reason they would have lost very much, not to say all, of their articulate value, and possibly vanished altogether. In this connection it is interesting to note the practical absence of gutturals from the Latin and Teutonic languages, and the precarious position of the "H." Also that in modern Hebrew the Ayin "Y" is in Europe used as a vowel letter, or treated as silent, except when beginning a word. The various grammatical rules improvised for the guttural verbs which Hebraists treat as imperfect are so framed that, when it does not clash with the inherent qualities of the consonants, as fundamental to preserve the verbal character, the proper pronunciation of the gutturals be avoided. Such rules were never recognised by the ancient



Hebrews, and are justly ridiculed by the Arabic-speaking man, who undertakes the study of this sister language. His instinct rebels against them.

After the advent of alphabetical writing, the language was compiled, as the Arabs say, from the tongues of men; words were recorded as then spoken in tribal dialect, and as used and abused by the poets. If we compare the modern dialects of the Arabic-speaking countries, we find they differ materially from each other in the consecution and pronunciation of letters; and if this be the case now, when the Koran rigidly defines words and sounds, how much more the early Arabs, divided as they were into many clans, must have differed, as we know they have, in this respect.

Therefore, in conclusion, the writer is of opinion that in the Ayin doubled verbs the contraction has not taken place between two similar letters, but between two absolutely different; and that the suppressed letter, grammar notwithstanding, either the second or the third, was, in the majority of cases, a guttural, which, from its nature, is more liable than others to be dropped from sound (other letters in few instances have suffered the same), and a substitution was resorted to by doubling the other letter. We still find in the language many verbs of this class, existing in perfect forms.

Few citations will be sufficient to show the great probability if not the absolute certainty of this theory.

Compare Baththa with Baatha, Bashsha with Bahaja—the Jeem evidently was changed to Sheen (Wajh is now in the various dialects pronounced Wash)—Jadda with Jahida, Radda with Rada'a, Rajja with Rahaja, Shabba with Shahaba, S'abba with S'ahaba, Lajja with Lahaja, Hadda with Hadama, and so on to the end of the chapter.

The meaning has, in many instances, been modified to suit occasions and circumstances, but when fully examined both forms point to a common parentage.

What is true of the Arabic is also true of the other

Semitic languages, and the first has been chosen because it is a living language and is still going through the process of change; and with demonstrating from more than one language, which the writer has not attempted, and comparing words common to two or three, a uniform phenomena unveils itself.

Finally, the writer hopes that scholarly researches on the lines here indicated will result in removing many of the difficulties attending the philological study of the Semitic languages, and a thorough investigation of all the imperfect and weak verbs will result in establishing the fact that a Semitic verb is and was by nature perfect and regular, without any possible exceptions; and that the vowel letter verbs were originally, as the Ayin doubled, made of three strong consonants, one of which lost its sound, and its loss substituted for by the lengthening of the vowel of the preceding consonant.

## "THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK."\*

By R. E. FORREST.

THIS work is written with full knowledge and deep feeling, from the heart. The "black folk" are the negroes of the United States of America, whose presence in that community constitutes so grave and ever-increasing a difficulty. The writer is himself one of them—and how his name stirs our speculations! This book of his, so excellent in thought, feeling, and expression—it is written in such admirable English, nervous and clear—constitutes the best argument in support of his earnest plea for the highest education—a University education—for his brethren. We think we can deal best with it by giving a series of extracts from it.

"Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question—unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it."

This never asked, but always implied, question is: "How does it feel to be a problem?"

"In a wee wooden school-house something put it into the boys' and girls' heads to buy gorgeous visiting-cards—ten cents a package—and exchange. The exchange was merry until one girl, a tall new-comer, refused my card—refused it peremptorily, with a glance. Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others, or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil.

"Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house? The shades of the prison-house closed round about us all: walls strait and stubborn to the whitest, but relentlessly narrow, tall, and unscalable to sons of night, who must plod darkly on in resignation, or beat unavailing palms against the stone, or steadily, half hopelessly, watch the streak of blue above.

\* By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. (Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., London.)

"One ever feels his two-ness—an American, a negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. The history of the American negro is the history of this strife—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the other selves to be lost. . . . He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face.

"This waste of double aims, this seeking to satisfy two unreconciled ideals, has wrought sad havoc with the courage and faith and deeds of ten thousand thousand people, has sent them often wooing false gods, and invoking false means of salvation, and at times has even seemed about to make them ashamed of themselves.

"Away back in the days of bondage they thought to see in one Divine event the end of all doubt and disappointment. . . . To them slavery was indeed the sum of all villainies, the cause of all sorrow, the root of all prejudice: emancipation was the key to a promised land of sweeter beauty than ever stretched before the eyes of the wearied Israelites.

"Years have passed away since then—ten, twenty, forty: forty years of national life, forty years of renewal and development—and yet the swarthy spectre sits in its accursed seat at the nation's feast.

"The nation has not yet found peace from its sins; the freedman has not yet found in freedom his promised land. Whatever of good may have come in these years of change, the shadow of a deep disappointment rests upon the negro people—a disappointment all the more bitter because the unattained ideal was unbounded save by the ignorance of a simple people.

"The ideal of liberty demanded for its attainment

powerful means, and these the Fifteenth Amendment gave him. The ballot, which before he had looked upon as a visible sign of freedom, he now regarded as the chief means of gaining and perfecting the liberty with which war had partially endowed him.

"A million black men started with renewed zeal to vote themselves into the kingdom. So the decade flew away, the revolution of 1876 came, and left the half-free slave wondering but still inspired. Slowly but steadily in the following years a new vision began gradually to replace the dream of political power: this was that of education, a full and complete education obtained through school and college and University.

"Up the new path the advance-guard toiled, slowly, heavily, doggedly. Only those who have watched and guided the faltering feet, the misty minds, the dull understandings of the dark pupils of these schools know how faithfully, how piteously, this people strove to learn. It was weary work. . . . To the tired climbers the horizon was ever dark, the mists were often cold, the Canaan was always dim and far away. If, however, the vistas disclosed as yet no goal, no resting-place, 'the climb' changed the child of emancipation to the youth with dawning self-consciousness, self-realization, self-respect: he saw in himself some faint revelation of his power, of his mission.

But For the first time he sought to analyze the burden he bore upon his back, that dead-weight of social degradation partially masked behind a half-named negro problem. He felt his poverty; without a cent, without a home, without land, tools, or savings, he had entered into competition with rich, landed, skilled neighbours. He felt the weight of his ignorance—not simply of letters, but of life, of business, of the humanitus; the accumulated sloth and shirking and awkwardness of decades and centuries shackled his hands and feet. Nor was his burden all poverty and ignorance." There was "the red stain of

bastardy, which two centuries of systematic legal defilement of negro women had stamped upon his race.

"The bright ideals of the past—physical freedom, political power, the training of brains and the training of hands—all these in turn have waxed and waned until even the last grows dim and overcast. Are they all wrong, all false? No, not that, but each alone was over-simple and incomplete; to be really true all these ideals must be melted and welded into one. The training of the schools we need to-day more than ever—the training of deft hands, quick eyes and ears, and, above all, the broader, deeper, higher culture of gifted minds and pure hearts. The power of the ballot we need in sheer self-defence, else what shall save us from a second slavery? Freedom, too, the long sought, we still seek—the freedom of life and limb, the freedom to work and think, the freedom to love and aspire. Work, culture, liberty—all these we need, not singly, but together, each growing and aiding each, and all striving toward that vaster ideal that swims before the negro people, the ideals of human brotherhood, gained through the unifying ideal of race. . . ." [He means race as distinct from colour.]

"The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line, the relations of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America, and the islands of the sea."

Mr. Du Bois does not share the views of Mr. Booker Washington, of the same race as himself, who has had a remarkable career, and is doing a remarkable work as a leader among his brethren.

"Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the negro race.

"Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things—(1) political power; (2) insistence on civil rights; (3) higher education of negro youth—and concentrate their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the con-



ciliation of the South. This policy has been courageously and insistently advocated for over fifteen years, and has been triumphant for perhaps ten years. As a result of this tender of the palm-branch, what has been the return? In three years there have occurred :

- " 1. The disfranchisement of the negro.
- " 2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the negro.
- " 3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for higher training of the negro."

But Mr. Du Bois, and "the other class of negroes who cannot agree with Mr. Washington, feel in conscience bound to ask of this nation three things :

- " 1. The right to vote.
- " 2. Civic equality.
- " 3. The education of youth according to ability.

"They do not ask that ignorant black men vote when ignorant whites are debarred, or that any reasonable restrictions in the suffrage should not be applied; they know that the low social level of the mass of the race is responsible for much discrimination against it; but they also know, and the nation knows, that relentless colour prejudice is more often a cause than a result of the negro's degradation.

"Negroes must insist, in season and out of season, that voting is necessary to modern manhood, that colour discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as well as white boys."

It is not our purpose, as it is not our business, to take part in this discussion. This is not the place for it. In the past the slave trade has produced some of the darkest, and one of the brightest, pages in the history of England. The present sad condition, the *impasse*, the irritating false position, the existence in the land of equality of a colour line of division as sharp and severe as the caste line between Brahmin and pariah in India, on the one side all advantage, on the other all disadvantage; the scorn and

disdain and abhorrence, the humiliation, the abjectness, the deep dejection, the foolish presumption, the continued antagonism, the fierce animosity, the evil passions, and the horrible evil deeds; the dread portent of the Americans having in their midst in the future—the near future, for the race is very prolific—an alien, and it may be hostile, community twenty or thirty millions strong; all these things concern England, and may concern her very deeply; they are the results of our own doings in the past; it is the sins of our fathers that are being visited upon their children, even unto the third and fourth generation. But these matters in themselves are outside the scope of this review, without its geographical limits, wide enough already. On the other hand, any lessons that may be learned from them with regard to the contact between a white and a dark race come within its scope, for throughout those geographical limits the great feature of the present, the resulting great problem of the future, lies in the contact between ourselves and dark races. The case of the American Negro is a special one, as the conjunction of the two words shows. We can make no deductions from it exactly applicable elsewhere: different places present different conditions; but we can draw certain general conclusions; we can enter into a general consideration of the matter; we can begin to think about the problems which will call for solution, for active action—action of great moment to ourselves and others, determining the future—at a time not very far off. The book should be read, therefore, by every Englishman, for every Englishman has an interest in those problems. It should be read by all those who have a political connection with the lands in which those problems are preparing, who may be called upon to take a personal part in their solution. Those whose interest in those lands is a religious one, through the missionary agencies on which so much of the life and energy, so much of the wealth of numbers of the English race is so worthily spent, should read the chapter about the negro Church, the wholly separate negro Church.

I now proceed to give some general considerations that have occurred to myself, some further extracts that seem to bear on some of the questions with which we have to deal elsewhere. Mr. Du Bois says: "We must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget. We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

But Mr. Du Bois does not seem to observe that these "great words," these self-evident truths, these unalienable rights with which men are said—it is not stated how the knowledge was come by—to be endowed by their Creator, do not support his cause; for when those words were said, those truths enunciated, those rights proclaimed, the Fathers held his own forefathers in slavery, and considered they had a "Divine right" to do so. They had little care for the right to life of the Red Indian or the negro. Their declaration was a statement of their own thoughts and sentiments, arising out of the conditions of the times, their own circumstances; of their own claims and demands, of what they held necessary for their own proper living. "What is truth?" asked Pontius Pilate. Locke said it was a definition. Circumstances and conditions rule. Are statements of truths and rights declarations of views formed on conditions and circumstances which vary? Are they deductions which vary with the conditions? What is a right? an achievement? an attainment? an acquisition? a demand? a claim? a concession? a *modus vivendi*? the utmost to be got? a need? a want? a desire? an advantage? the utmost advantage obtainable? being and well-being? that which conduces to the preservation, maintenance, and ennoblement of life? the full enjoyment of the fruit of one's own labours? non-disturbance? ancient manners? ancient customs? a settled mode of living? life? freedom? means of subsistence? health? happiness?

To the word right or rights are often attached the adjectives natural, eternal, inherent, unalienable, Divine. Apart from revelation it does not seem clear how a man can confidently set forth a knowledge of the will and designs of the Creator. Contradictory rights have often been declared Divine, and the issue decided by force of arms. The assumption, the full acknowledgment of a "Divine right," has not prevented the dethronement of Kings. Are these epithets used merely because they are strong words, to emphasize the claim, to display the claimant's own strong feelings, to work on the feelings of others? Has a man any right or rights? He has a starting possession—life. Life is necessary to his existence. Air, food, and water are necessary to life; these absolute needs and wants are often styled "natural," "inherent" rights. If a man is "endowed by the Creator" with life as an unalienable right, no provision seems made to guarantee him in the possession of it. In India droughts come; there is not the usual provision of water; there is no food. Man dies; millions perish. Has he been deprived of a right—an unalienable right? Man has to arrange for himself upon the earth; he is the chief immediate working force. He is the fighting force; he has to fight against the drought; he has to sustain and defend his life. Whatever existence life may have apart from the means of sustenance—air and food, solid and liquid—it is obvious that on this earth it cannot exhibit itself, continue without them. If it is declared, "It is He that hath made us, and not we ourselves," so is it declared, "If a man worketh not, neither shall he eat." Man has to exert himself, however lightly and pleasantly, with whatsoever severity and distress, to obtain the means of sustenance. He has to labour for his life, and, if necessary, fight for it. Passing emotions have been declared eternal principles. Present conditions have been called laws. Desires of the moment have been set forth as eternal rights. Fierce declamatory declarations of the rights of man and the laws

of Nature once convulsed Europe; but do rights mean more than desires, betterment? Does the most misleading expression "laws of Nature" mean more than existing agencies and their interaction?

Take a man and a woman by themselves. A man, whom we will call Settler, and his wife stand, like Adam and Eve, in the distant region into which he has penetrated as a pioneer. It is a fair land, an Eden; but the loaves do not hang upon the trees, nor is the water laid on. Here was corn land, but it had to be worked; pasture land, but it had to be fenced. He had to place his hut with reference to security and defence; the water had to be fetched from the spring, or, when that ran dry, from the deep-running stream. It was not a land in which water and vegetation and animal life held predominant sway; where fierce and destructive animals abounded; where man, unprovided with the additional skins which, in the shape of garments, civilization—*i.e.*, the higher, fuller, more organized exertions of man—supplies, or with the arms which it affords, and which augment his power so enormously, walks a pigmy. It was an open land, varied with hill and dale, with here and there a wood, with a temperate clime. There were on it deer, whose flesh and skins he could bring into his own use. There were not on it wild animals whose single force was enormously greater than his own; but there were wolves, and these hunted in couples or in packs. He had to defend himself and his helpless sheep against them. Worse—for the greatest enemy of man is ever man—in the fastnesses of the hills near were some savage people who lived by hunting, and there was danger that they might come down and kill him and his wife, or, more terrible, carry her away captive, destroy his hut, and drive away his flocks and herds. There was the more danger of this because to such conduct these people gave the name of glory. And so he had to go armed constantly, and the worst part of his situation was that it induced in him a spirit of fearfulness. If he had plenty of

freedom, he had little security. If he escaped competition, he lost co-operation. His gains were limited by the extent of his own powers. If his corn land gave forth produce beyond his own wants and possibility of use, he could not profit by the superfluity. He had full command of necessities, little of comforts, none of refinements. He could do what he liked, go where he liked, put everything about him to his own use and benefit. He had command of the field, the pasture, the spring, and the wood. He was "monarch of all he surveyed." Then the poem about Robinson Crusoe goes on to say, "There is none my right to dispute." But the word "right" was not known here; occasion had not risen to produce the thought or utterance of it. Finally, if he had command only of what his own labour produced, he had full command.

Then came a great rush of other settlers. A village rose up around the spring and by the wood; other villages rose up not far off. Settler now became a member of a community. He could enjoy social intercourse. He obtained the help of other brains and hands. The loaves now came from the baker's. The blacksmith and the wheelwright and the saddler and the shoemaker and the mason now helped him. He soon had a better dwelling-place. He could dispose of his surplus produce, sell his sheep and his lambs, his milk. He had more comforts. A band of men are stronger than one man, and he enjoyed the great blessing of security. But if the community can defend, it can also coerce. He could not now go where he liked, do what he liked—in fact, think or say what he liked; could not take or leave of all about him as he pleased. He had no longer command of the land and water, of the wood. There began disputes about the possession and use of these—not least with regard to the last, for fuel is as much a need of life above the brute stage as food.—I pause to remark that this fact has been greatly overlooked by our Government in India. No member of it has ever lived as an Indian peasant. In many parts the want of fuel is



greatly felt. Badly-cooked food is greatly the cause of a weak and miserable physical condition. Though the care and conservation of the forests was one of the most important duties the Government ever undertook, the too hasty and rigid curtailment of their former privileges of entry—which no doubt many of them abused—often pressed very heavily on the people, more heavily than the Government officials, from their want of knowledge of their domestic economy, could appreciate. The supply of fuel should become a direct care of the Supreme Government, like the supply of salt. All that is wanted is attention to the subject; no additional agency is needed; it could be carried out through the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, and the Forest Department. The officers of the Forest Department should not confine their work to the forests which lie in the uninhabited regions, but to the growing of plantations in cultivated regions. For instance, along the edge of the valley of the Jumna are long stretches of broken waste ground, which could be utilized for the growth of fuel. The Governments of France and Germany attend most carefully to this subject.—Then began the scramble which is called the "struggle for existence." Now began the use of the words "right" and "rights," which seemed here to mean claims. Now came powers and possessions, qualifications and disqualifications, privileges and disabilities. The strong men strove to obtain the fullest command of the natural advantages, of the produce of the labour of men's hands, of privileges. Then many cities, walled round, in which merchants and artisans congregated, rose up. The wolves and the robber tribes had been exterminated. The deer were now to be found only in the stringently guarded preserves of the various strong men who had obtained command of large areas of land and forest, and of the streams running through, which they claimed as their own individual property, and would not allow others to use, except on their own terms. These terms they called

rights. They could enforce them by means of strongholds and armed men, so that it was said that might was right. And so Settler's grandchildren found that they had not full command of the fruit of their own labours, as he had. They were not so free from interference. The amount of the produce of his own labour which a man shall be allowed to retain for his own use is a great problem in all communities, especially the agricultural, as we may observe in India. Here it was very little, so that the conditions of these folks were very bad, and their disabilities were very severe, and conditions were laid upon them that were degrading to their manhood. And so arose a great cry of wrongs and rights, and rights seem to be born of wrongs. They cried for their just rights. They called for a new arrangement of things, so that rights seemed to mean arrangements. And they proceeded to employ the means by which rights, like modes of living, are established, maintained, or disestablished, force. By combination among themselves, and with the men of the cities, they were able to overcome the strong men of the fortresses. And that condition of things was ended, and the towns and cities increased and grew larger, and manufactures and commerce flourished, and there was greater command of the comforts of life; but there were still disputes about rights and wrongs. Disabilities were still the fruitful source of enmity and strife, disputes and dangers, as they have been in every human community that ever was. The robber tribes had been exterminated, but round about had grown up other States, which acted the part of these. There was danger of loss of life and land and treasure from the nearest ones, for this had been suffered once or twice. And this was the more strange, as these were not savages, but Christian people, followers of the Prince of Peace. And they, too, called this conduct glory. And so in the time of his great-great-grandchildren, Settler, now a very old man, found that every man in the community was obliged to go armed, as he had been when by himself. And

the people lived in great fearfulness; and so he said, "As it was in the beginning, is now——" and then he died.

This book enforces the old lesson that evil deeds have evil consequences, and that the reaping will be as the sowing.

It shows that the laws of morality cannot be set aside for immediate economic considerations; if they are, the business will not be profitable in the end. Profit lies in righteousness. Whatever the immediate gain from the production of sugar, cotton, or gold by means of slave labour in the end will be loss.

It shows how deep is the division between men of a different race and of a different grade of civilization. Differences of race, of habitat, of physical construction, of up-bringing, of modes of life, must always tell, "make a difference," produce a separation. But this may be merely a natural aloofness, or a fierce animosity. In America, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, from the two races being at the very top and bottom of the scale of evolution and civilization, from the theory of equality, the contact is a confronting—not only an aloofness, but a waving off, a repugnance, abhorrence, animosity. "The ignorant Southerner hates the negro; the working man fears his competition; the money-makers wish to use him as a labourer; some of the educated see a menace in his upward development."

It is said that the negro race, as at present constituted, is inherently disqualified from rising to a high level of civilization; that the question at this moment is not of its soaring, but of its sinking, descending further into degradation and crime, swelling still more the criminal classes in the great towns; that the first endeavours should be to save it from this; that sloth and sensuality are at present too prominent in its character; that with its mental and moral deficiencies is combined an extraordinary self-sufficiency and an absurd arrogance; that its estimate of its own fitness is not for equality, but superiority; that at the

moment the negroes need elementary, mental, and moral development ; that his sphere of activity, of bread-earning, lies in the lower class of industries ; that for political power he is quite unfit. Mr. Booker Washington, who is held in such high regard both by the whites and his negro brethren (or half-brethren, for his father was an Englishman), and who has done so much to bridge the gulf between the two, holds the same views. He is "striving nobly to make negro artisans business men and property owners" ; he "insists on thrift and self-respect" ; counsels "a silent submission to civic inferiority" ; he "advocates common school and industrial training, and depreciates institutions of higher learning." Mr. Washington's "work has wonderfully prospered ; his friends are legion. To-day he stands as the one recognised spokesman of his ten million fellows, and one of the most notable figures in a nation of seventy millions." But, says Mr. Du Bois further on, his "programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the negro races." Mr. Du Bois himself holds that they are capable of rising to the utmost height of manhood ; that they should be given help and opportunity to do so, so that they may come to stand by the side of the white men as fellow-citizens, fellow-workers, free from any social or political ban or bar. The means of the achievement lies, he holds, in education and the ballot-box, in the possession of political power. The opponents of the higher education of the negro say that it has been tried, and has proved a failure : "even though many were able to pursue the course, most of them did so in a parrot-like way, learning what was taught, but not seeming to appropriate the truth and import of their instruction, and graduating without sensible aim or valuable occupation for their future." This, word for word, with a most extraordinary similarity, is the indictment brought against our own higher education in India. But Mr. Du Bois says that statement is extreme and overdrawn. The number of the graduates who have gone forth from the special negro

colleges, or taken their degree at Harvard, Yale, and the similar institutions (often brilliantly), is not yet large ; but of these, while many have not, most have justified their higher education. They are doing excellent work in the professions, as teachers, lawyers, physicians, as clergymen in their own Church, as merchants and farmers, in the Government civil service. "College men are slowly but surely leavening the negro Church, are healing and preventing the devastations of disease, and beginning to furnish legal protection for the liberty and property of the toiling masses."

Whatever its defects on the side of culture, the results of our own higher education in India have been to raise men from a lower to a higher level, to improve the intelligence, quicken and strengthen the mental powers, give command of real knowledge, raise the moral sense, improve the tone of the mind ; to produce a new order of educated Princes and nobles and great landowners ; to raise up a new middle class of men, doing better work and enjoying better means, engaged in occupations needing intelligence and character, and improving intelligence and character ; men employed in the various departments of the State, in industry and commerce, in the various professions, as lawyers, physicians, teachers, journalists ; also to produce new moral and religious associations, a stir and change in the social and religious conditions of the land, to introduce a new leaven.

The "closer knitting of the negro to the great industrial possibilities of the South" is acknowledged important, and "the common schools and the manual training and trade schools are working to accomplish" this ; but "the foundations of knowledge in this race, as in others, must be sunk deep in the college and University if we would build a solid, permanent structure." The "training of deft hands, quick eyes and ears," is needed ; but "above all, the broader, deeper, higher culture of gifted minds and pure hearts." The aim of the education should be not to

produce pedants or artisans, "but a man ; and to make men we must have ideals, broad and pure and inspiring ends of living, not sordid money-getting."

In India we began with the higher education, the colleges ; then came the elementary schools ; then came the desire to supplement the purely literary or "classical" teaching of the colleges by fuller and more direct instruction in science, to have places for instruction in the industrial arts ; for this was held to be most important, not only by its bearing on the material interests of the scholars, as enabling them to earn a livelihood in other ways besides Government employ, but by its bearing on their intellect and character. Nowhere are the exact sciences wanted more than in India. True science is needed to displace false, so that facts should take the place of fancies, realities of phantasms, and knowledge and sentiment not be nonsensical. Science is needed not only to train the intellectual faculties, but to create them ; to curb exaggerations and extravagancies of thought and feeling, such as lead to absurd cosmogonies and ridiculous chronologies, to false and overweening conceptions of their own present powers and capabilities ; to teach, educe true judgment, certitude, exactness.

"Education among all kinds of men always has had, and always will have, an element of danger and revolution, of dissatisfaction and discontent."

Our giving of education in India has not been unproductive of such results. But we gave because we had to give, as the only course in accord with our feelings, with our views of our rule in India, possible to us Englishmen. The charge of India is no light one. It has its calls for sacrifice of life and health and strength, it has its difficulties and dangers ; but it is a high charge, and we have to fulfil it in a lofty and noble spirit. We hold its continuance to be necessary for the good of the land ; we hold that we should exercise it for the good of the land, the benefit of the people. There are European races ruling in



Eastern lands who work on the principle, Make the land fruitful, but keep the people ignorant; irrigate, but do not educate. But that is not in accord with our ideas. We have given the people the finest works of irrigation in the world, but we have also set the waters of knowledge flowing; we would have the mind and character of the people give forth their best fruits as well as the soil. We hold that the noblest is also the best policy.

This book shows the evil of the bestowal, of political systems suitable to one race on another wholly different; at all events, prematurely, and without reference to want, or desire, or preparation, or capacity, or consequences. The bestowal of the vote on the negro immediately after his emancipation was the cause of great bewilderment and confusion and loss to himself, of disappointment and sorrow to his well-wishers. The North had once felt so keen an interest in his condition that it had led to a bloody war in his cause; and even in the South before the war there had been "something of kindness, fidelity, and happiness." But now he found himself in evil case, hated and shunned and kept under; none for him, all against him; "in a wide desert of caste and proscription, amid the heart-hurting slights and jars and vagaries of a deep race hatred."

"Negroes must insist continually, in season and out of season, that voting is necessary to modern manhood," says Mr. Du Bois. But he says also: "To stimulate wildly weak and untrained minds is to play with mighty fires. . . . Thus negro suffrage ended a civil war by beginning a race feud."

"The better class of negroes followed the advice from abroad and the pressure from home, and took no further interest in politics, leaving to the careless and the venal of their race the exercise of their rights as voters. The black vote that still remained was not trained and educated, but further debauched by open and unblushing bribery, or force and fraud, until the negro voter was thoroughly

inoculated with the idea that politics was a method of private gain by disreputable means."

Great heights of manhood have been attained to under kingly and princely rule, under oligarchies, and under republics. Many have held the highest flower and fruitage of human life had been attained to in a small community of freedmen, having under them a working community of slaves—this was in ancient Greece. Even Mr. Du Bois says with regard to the South that there now material prosperity is beginning to be regarded "as the touchstone of all success. The fatal might of this idea is beginning to spread; it is replacing the finer type of Southerner with vulgar money-getters; it is burying the sweeter beauties of Southern life beneath pretence and ostentation." (All this is not to argue in favour of slavery, which is an accursed institution.) And he says with regard to America: "The perpetuity of republican institutions on this continent depends on the purification of the ballot, the civic training of voters, and the raising of voting to the plane of a solemn duty." Strong in man is the lust for power and greed. It is very sad for those to whom the extension of the suffrage and the use of the ballot-box seemed once the keys to Utopia, the means for the production of a perfect civil condition, that these have become the instruments of that lust for power and greed. It is sad to find that in America, where the system of free voting prevails on the largest scale, the best men keep aloof from politics, deeming it "a disreputable and useless form of human activity." It is sad to see it the mere engine of selfishness in some of our own colonies, where the people, the free and ruling people, seem to be in the condition of the Roman populace, when it cared for nothing but bread and sport. It is sad at this moment to see how in the first Parliament in which the direct representatives of Labour form a party they have taken up an ostentatious position of caring only for their own class interests. Every human institution, religious or secular, is degraded, put to its worse use, used for selfish

ends. Think of the beginning of Christianity and of some of the institutions that have grown up out of it—of the sweet heavenly flower and the rank, choking human weeds. Monarchies become corrupted into tyrannies, republics into oligarchies, plutocracies. It is the swing away from misused religious and secular institutions that lead to irreligion and anarchy.

The native of any portion of India has a preference for the clime which has produced the race, for the "air and water," which are "conformable" to him. He likes the help and comfort of known things and people. He is not enterprising, and does not care to move into other sections of the peninsula, where the physical and social conditions would be different from those in which he was born and brought up. To go beyond the limits of the peninsula, to cross the black water, is abhorrent to him, for it means infringement of that personal sanctity which is to him the matter of supreme concern in life—of supremest concern. He does not care to go far from his native village, and desires to return to it ere he dies. But the political divisions of his section of the peninsula are not a matter of life and death to him, as is that personal sanctity, as is his caste: now it may be divided thus, now that way; now the capital may be here, now there; now this race may rule, now that: the divisions of rice land, and corn land, and millet land are of more concern to him. He cares for the organization of his village, the longer-lived, and not of the State, the more evanescent. The one is of more personal concern to him—and his concerns are chiefly personal. And those concerns are ruled, his life directed and governed, his deepest sentiments evoked, not with reference to place of birth or political organization, with reference to fatherland, or nation, or State, as is the case with other peoples—peoples belonging to later forms of society—but wholly with reference to kinship and religion, to tribe, and class, and caste.

The people of India early attached a sanctity to the

primary wants of food, and water, and fire. These have entered into the sacred rites, the religious tenets and dogmas, of all nations, but nowhere more so than in India. A religious feeling has attached everywhere to eating and drinking and the use of fire, but never with such ruling, predominant force as in India. Everything connected with them—the act, the occasion, the instruments, the place—is holy. The divine, the inalienable rights, the immemorial privileges, for which he is ready to die, to a Hindu are the sanctity of his person, the divinity, "that doth hedge him round like a King," which is conferred on him by his caste; of his home, especially of the sacred women's apartments, of his hearth, of his cooking-place, his cooking-pots, his platter—to dip hands in which with him is the mark of brotherhood—and, above all (naturally, in a thirsty land), his lotah, his drinking vessel, the allowing of the use of which is the mark of full brotherhood, the disallowing the dread mark of ostracism. The recognition, the maintenance, of those rights was his one essential demand from any Government or ruler. It was the fear that we desired to deprive him of that essential concomitant of existence by means of the greased cartridge that caused the Mutiny. Security, the leaving to him of a fair share of the produce of his labour, non-interference with his religion and his caste—obtaining these from a Government, the name or form, or composition of it, is a matter of very little care or concern. It was a great Hindu chieftain, Rana Raj Singh of Mewar, who wrote to the Emperor Aurungzeb with regard to "his royal ancestor, Mahomed Julal-uddin, whose throne is now in heaven," that he "conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every tribe of men in ease and happiness," whatever their religious belief. Equity, firm security, ease, full religious toleration—these things given, the foreign ruler was lauded and accorded a throne in heaven.

In connection with politics an Englishman desires acti-

vities, a native of India non-disturbance. To the latter the ideal of life is the calm, still, little-changing, quiet lake ; to the former the flowing river. Running water and still each have their good and ill : in stagnant water weeds grow and foul gases are engendered ; the moving stream is more wholesome, and does work.

An Englishman takes his institutions and his games with him into other lands, and is very desirous to introduce both among people to whom they appear to involve too much fatigue.

It may seem to show how general principles did arise from personal feelings and special circumstances that Lord Cornwallis, being a territorial magnate, thought the English landlord system was the best for Bengal, and so inflicted a great loss on the revenues of the people under our rule, while Lord Ripon, an advanced Liberal, was all in favour of popular institutions and introduced municipalities.

I happened to be connected with the first of these that were introduced into the then North-West Provinces, the tract to which my experience belongs and my remarks refer. I can recall some of the points that arose in discussing these institutions with the natives of various classes. They were not in accord with their wishes or feelings. The assembly system was known, but only in the same caste. How could those of higher and lower caste work together ? The men of higher position, of leisure, preferred the dignity and ease of aloofness to taking a share in public affairs. To canvass, to solicit the votes of low-caste men, to owe position to their suffrage, was abhorrent. The people thought their ancient ways with regard to sanitation and water-supply were good enough, the best for them, the ones they preferred. Men of position thought it undignified to be connected with such things as cesspools and public latrines ; it exposed them to ridicule. The new goddess Cloacina was strange to the people. They did not understand private persons carrying out public duties. Were there not public

officers, Government officials? Let the rulers rule. Why should not the magistrate, the head of the district, look after the town, as he had done before? Would not his will still be law? and was the new arrangement only a clever dodge by which the magistrate obtained more funds to carry out the works he loved so much, while the odium and hostility aroused by the new works and the new taxation would rest on the council? Why should men do work without payment? Above all, why not let them rest in ancient ways?

But notwithstanding the difficulties and troubles first encountered, it was determined to persevere in the establishment of municipalities, because not only was this desired for the same reasons as in England, but because of their stimulating and educative value; they were meant to arouse a new spirit. I am unable to speak from personal knowledge of what their social, political, economic effects have been, nor have I access at this moment to official publications that might give this information; but I have this information—there are now in the U. Province eighty-nine municipalities, instead of eight or nine, and that they are at work in places where their introduction would never have been dreamt of forty years ago.

There are now everywhere local boards and councils on which natives sit. There is now in that province a local legislative council, out of the thirteen members of which seven are natives. Natives have sat in the Supreme Legislative Council for many years. Natives have sat as members of the House of Commons, in the Supreme Council of the Empire. It is open to them to become members of the House of Lords. But the extraordinary sorrow awakened by the death of Queen Victoria, the extraordinary fervour aroused by the visit of the Prince of Wales, shows that what really stirs the heart of the people and awakens their enthusiasm in connection with our rule, is the monarchy, the Supreme Ruler.

What the black folk desire most, says Mr. Du Bois,



is sympathy. To so much of the colour prejudice "as is founded on just homage to civilization, culture, righteousness, and progress," they bow; but "that nameless prejudice that leaps beyond all this, that personal disrespect and mockery, the ridicule and systematic humiliation, the all-pervading desire to inculcate disdain for everything black"—these awaken in them a savage wrath or a dull despair. The look of the eye may hurt as much as the blow of the hand, the tongue sting as much as the lash of a whip, the "proud man's contumely" be held worse than "the oppressor's wrong."

The natives of India are very sensitive to ridicule, and set great store on personal respect and courtesy, value good manners as highly as good deeds.

## THE YUNAN EXPEDITION OF 1875, AND THE CHEEFOO CONVENTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF COLONEL (NOW GENERAL)  
HORACE A. BROWNE.

(Continued from p. 156.)

*January* 18, 1875.—The Won seems gratified at my moving down from the Residency, and accepting his hospitality in the town. We have long conversations about the last and present expeditions. The difficulties of the last expedition are attributed by him partly to the Kakhyengs, and partly to imperious and overbearing conduct on our part. The last act of the expedition—viz., the sacrifice of buffaloes to please the Kakhyengs, in defiance of the religious prejudices of the Burmans, just outside the gates of the Won's house, still rankles in the minds of pious people here.

The Won would have liked us to go by the Central or Ambassador's route, as he has more influence over the Kakhyengs in this direction, and the King's embassy having passed by it, the line is now clear for us. I admitted that his reasons were good, but the Assistant Resident having already hired carriage for the Sawaddy route, we are committed to it. He replies that although this route is outside his jurisdiction, he will do all in his power to assist me, and will send a guard to accompany me to the limits of Burman territory at Mantsee. The Kakhyeng bullock drivers come in with their bullocks, and undertake to convey us six marches from Sawaddy to Kwon-loon or Kut-loon, which is in the jurisdiction of the Maing-maw Tsawbwa, a Chinese Shan chieftain, and well outside Kakhyeng land. The bullock men object to the size of many of our packages, which had been made up for mules that carry 50 viss, whilst bullocks take only 35 or

40 viss. Thus, a great deal of rearrangement will be required. The Mateng and other Kakhyengs of the Central route are present whilst we are talking with the Sawaddy men, and seem much disappointed at our choice of a route, though it is not easy to judge of sentiments from the expression of faces where a forbidding scowl is hardly ever absent. The physiognomy of the Mateng himself is an exception to the general rule. He has a pleasing, intelligent look, and is actually cleanly in his person. I took him for a Manipuri when I first saw him, and suspect that one of his ancestors must have captured a female slave of that race. He speaks Burmese perfectly, and converses fluently in Chinese with Margary. He seems now to be thoroughly under Burman influence.

*January 19 and 20.*—We are endeavouring to reduce our packages in size, so as to meet the requirements of the bullock drivers. I send Shan letters off to the Tsawbwa of Maing-maw, and Margary sends Chinese letters off to Li-ssu at Nan-teng and the Governor of Momien, announcing our visit. Two French priests, Father Lecomte and another now here, are preparing to start in a few days by the Upper route for Yunnan to establish a communication between their mission here and that of Tibet and China.

*January 21.*—The Shwe-goo Won, in whose jurisdiction Sawaddy lies, sends word, as I thought he would, that having no orders from Mandalay he cannot assist us.

This is the Burmese "worship day," and for some reason or another (some say it is by "Royal Order") everyone here, from the Won downwards, is in an extraordinarily devotional frame of mind. A Scotch Sabbath is a time of revelry and riot in comparison with a full moon worship day at Bhamo. The few people to be seen in the streets are all telling their beads, and a hum of prayer is issuing from the Won's house. Our encampment has hitherto been the constant resort of a motley crowd of Burmans, Shans, Paloungs, Kakhyengs, etc., curiously

observing our movements, and on the watch for small presents and opportunities for picking up unconsidered trifles. To-day we are left to ourselves. Whatever may be the motive with Burmese and Shans, it cannot be religious fervour that has kept away the savages, so I am inclined to think there has been some recent decree for the better observance of worship days. Although we cannot make people sober by <sup>an</sup> Act of Parliament, it appears that a Royal Decree here is sufficient to make people pious, outwardly at any rate. It is inconvenient for us, as it delays our work.

The Chinamen here are under the impression that we are going to make a railway straight off to China. One of them remarked to me to-day that though the Sawaddy route is longer than the others, it is much the best for a railway.

The arrival of Margary, the great Petching Meng (Pekin Mandarin), is still the great sensation of the day, both among Burmese and Chinese. He is a handsome young man, with very taking manners, and is a general favourite both among ourselves and the natives. He is accompanied by a writer of sedate and dignified appearance, whom, on account of his wearing phenomenally large circular spectacles, we have dubbed "Goggles." He is believed by the natives to be a Mandarin of high rank, sent to escort Margary from Pekin. The apparition of an English officer coming from Pekin, speaking Chinese, able to eat with chopsticks, and having in his suite an imposing-looking, veritable Mandarin, is something so new and unheard of that every Burman is bewildered. The Won invites Margary and his writer every day to see a new Burman play or dance, and every Burman or Shan who has picked up a smattering of Chinese is anxious to enter into conversation with them. To-day the Mateng Tsawbwa, between whom and Cooke there has been a considerable amount of coolness, stalked into Cooke's drawing-room, and without taking any notice of the master of the house

drew Margary aside into the verandah to have a chat with him.

From to-day I have dispensed with a cash chest. Not only is such an article inconveniently heavy to carry, but its appearance is likely to excite the cupidity of the savages. I have, therefore, distributed our money among the private trunks of the different members of the expedition. Gold, we have found, is not popular in these parts. It sells here at only Rs. 24 per tickal, and Margary informs me I shall get still less for it in Yunan. Rupees, too, are said to be no longer in favour among the Kakhyengs, who have been taken in by some of the Mandalay coins. I have, therefore, converted all my rupees and most of my gold into the lumps of silver which are current everywhere in the Kakhyeng Hills. There are two kinds of it, Nos. 1 and 2. No. 1 is used by the Chinamen, but No. 2 is good enough for the Kakhyengs.

*January 23.*—Our baggage is put on board boats to be taken down to Sawaddy, and we ride down there. We find it is a wretched village of about thirty houses. It used to be much larger, but has been desolated by Kakhyeng raids.

The Tsitkai of Bhamo, who has had military experience in Thiennee, has been appointed to command the escort which is to accompany us to Mantsee, on the border of Kakhyeng Land and China. His force consists of a lot of wretched ragamuffins collected from the neighbouring villages. Here the Tsitkai is out of his own jurisdiction, and feels rather helpless; the Shwe-goo Won, in whose district we are, having given no orders about us. The Tsitkai pulls a long face, and says that nothing has been prepared for our reception. He has had a rickety old *zayat* (rest-house) screened off with curtains for our accommodation, and has himself taken up his quarters in a hut, our horses and followers camping out in the open. The village headman looked morose and inhospitable, but promises of liberal payment soon produced the few things,

such as water, grass, and firewood, which we required. Everything has to be paid for at exorbitant prices. The smallest coin known here is the "moo," or two anna piece, and it is hard to find anything that can be purchased for one of these coins. The Shan women, our chief purveyors, bring a handful of grass and ask four annas for it. At this rate a pony will eat Rs. 2 worth of grass per diem. The Paloungto Tsawbwa, with the bullock men, is here. They seem to have quite enough bullocks, though they cannot, or will not, tell us the exact number. The Tsawbwa is an ordinary looking Kakhyeng, remarkable only for the enormous extent to which he has distended the aperture in the lobe of one ear to accommodate a roll of gold leaf about 2 inches in diameter. To communicate with these men I have only one interpreter, Mounng Mo, lent to me by Captain Cooke, who inspires me with anything but confidence.

*January 24.*—I commence making the baggage over to the Tsawbwa and his lieutenant or pawmaing. I find it will be impossible for our small Sikh guard to keep efficient watch over a straggling convoy of some 200 bullocks, so I hand over everything, with the exception of our clothes boxes, to the Tsawbwa, who undertakes to be responsible for them.

None but we ourselves are supposed to know that these clothes boxes contain also our cash; but probably the Kakhyengs have made a pretty shrewd guess on the matter by this time. Each box has to be fitted into a basket made expressly for it before it can be put on a bullock, and this basket-making process is a tedious one.

The Tsitkai informs me that royal orders have just been received that he is to escort us right up to the Chinese frontier—*i.e.*, to Kutloon, five marches beyond Mantsee, at which latter place he previously thought he was going to leave us to the tender mercies of the Kakhyengs. This news is not pleasing to the ears either of the Burmans or of the Kakhyengs. The Kakhyengs in their own lairs



are terrible bugbears to the Burmans, and the savages resent the presence of any Burmans in their mountains unless they come as traders who can be fleeced.

The Tsitkai grumbles at the increased expenditure which will fall on him, and his brave army may have to go back to their own villages to replenish their commissariat bags. I have been employing these poor, half-starved fellows as coolies; but as payment has to go through the Tsitkai's hands, I fear that most of it never gets any farther.

We have had a wondering crowd of half a dozen nationalities and tongues round our camp all day. The Tsawbwa and his followers have an insatiable craving for brandy, and our stock seems likely to run short before we are out of their clutches.

*January 25.*—The mornings are very cold, and the Kakhyengs cannot be roused to do any work before 10 a.m. They took over 100 boxes yesterday, giving receipts, and carrying them off to be fitted into baskets. Things worked so smoothly that I began to think they were not such bad fellows after all; but this was too good to last, and to-day they began to object to the size of some of the packages. I informed them that any which were too heavy for them I should send back to Bhamo, and on this they at once withdrew their objections. This looks as if they had an eye to plunder. Then the Tsawbwa appears with a long face, and says he has brought 336 bullocks, and expects to be paid for them all, though we require only about half that number. His only reason for this cool request is that when Elias visited his village he made a casual remark that the village did not seem large enough to furnish 300 bullocks, and to prove the contrary he, the Tsawbwa, had brought more than that number. He admitted that Cooke had contracted with him for the supply of 150 bullocks only, so I informed him I should stand by the contract, and not by the casual remark. He then calmly requested that I would pay down the whole of the bullock hire at once. This I laughed

him out of, but promised to pay half the hire if he is ready to start the day after to-morrow. I suspect that my rascally interpreter, Mounq Mo, is putting the Kakhyengs up to making these absurd requests. This has been a day of argument rather than of work.

*January 26.*—The Kakhyengs again assert that many of our boxes are too heavy for their bullocks, and suggest that we should unpack and place the things loose in their panniers. This arrangement for making theft easy I decidedly object to.

The Sikhs had some revolver practice to-day at a distance of 200 yards. It was quite good enough to astonish and impress the crowds who came to witness it.

*January 27.*—As it rained heavily to-day I purchased thatching grass to cover our baggage, but as soon as we had turned our backs the Kakeyengs used it to cover their bodies. The Tsawbwa appears to receive the promised advance. I require an assurance that we shall really start to-morrow morning. He replies sulkily that he requires money to purchase salt to load on the surplus bullocks. There is no salt to be had here, so he is evidently returning to the charge to compel me to pay for 300 bullocks. One result of the last expedition having been to gain us the reputation of being a very squeezable people, it is necessary to make a stand against these repeated attempts at extortion. Otherwise we shall be in a state of bankruptcy before we arrive at the Chinese frontier. So I replied that as there appeared to be no chance of my starting by this route, I should have to try another. On this the Tsawbwa got up in a huff and stalked away, saying that as the previous arrangements had been made with his Pawmaings, I might continue to negotiate with them. These men were more malleable, and at once said they would start the day after to-morrow, if I would give them one viss of silver and 10 rupees for each village. I called the Tsawbwa back to ratify this agreement, which he at once did. The money having been paid he pocketed it

himself, and with a grim smile remarked that we were brothers.

Let not those in search of the "Noble Savage" come to the Kakhyeng Hills, for they won't find him there. I have tried to discover some good qualities beneath the filthy exterior of these degraded creatures, but so far in vain. Until this race of robbers is thoroughly coerced, no regular trade over these hills is possible. A strong Government, however, would put down the nuisance in a few months. The Burman Government, though not strong, has succeeded in establishing some police posts along the Northern route, but here its influence is nil.

In the evening Clement Allen, the second Consular interpreter, sent from Shanghai, surprises us and himself, too, by dropping in among us. He had been provided with royal boats at Mandalay, and whilst going up-stream he noticed some Indians on the bank, and stopping to inquire who they were, found that they belonged to our party.

*January 28.*—The doctor gives the Tsawbwa a dose of medicine, which seems to improve his temper for a while. The Pawmaings and MOUNG MO, the Kakhyeng interpreter, have been hobnobbing together this morning, and the latter comes to me with very incoherent stories, winding up always with the remark that it is surprising that our Government rewards such a valuable servant as himself with only 20 rupees a month. While we were at breakfast the Kakhyengs make another attempt to carry off our clothes boxes, notwithstanding the well-understood agreement that they were not to have them. The Sikhs on guard refusing to allow them to pass, the Kakhyengs became angry, and fired off muskets over the Sikhs' heads. The Sikhs behaved with commendable coolness, and treated the aggressors like naughty children.

The Tsawbwa was displeased at being thwarted, and sent word to say he would not accompany us. This is really getting too bad. The sulky savage seems to consider himself the arbiter of our destinies. Another difficulty

now crops up. Our road lies through other territories besides that of this Tsawbwa. He gave Cooke to understand that he had made it all right with the other Tsawbwas, and that we should be allowed to pass on payment of small sums to them. He now admits that there is one Tsawbwa, him of Poongan, whom he has made no arrangement with, and who is likely to be refractory. The Burmans state that this man is collecting a force to oppose us. Armed as we are we could walk through the whole of the Kakh-yeng Hills if unencumbered, but in case of opposition our valuable baggage train would have a poor chance of getting through.

The Kakhyengs, we find, have already begun to steal our rice and liquor, and have prodded holes in various packages to see what they contain.

The Burman Tsitkai and his brave army are in a state of fright, looking upon a conflict as inevitable.

Evidently the choice of this route was a mistake, as was also the desire to "work independently of the Burmans," which led to it. Some believe that the Burmans are at the bottom of our difficulties. Even Moun-Mo suggests that the Burmans have been "poking the Tsawbwa in the side" as he expresses it. I am not of this opinion. The Burmans have candidly told us that they are not in favour of this route, because they have not as yet obtained so much influence over the savages here as they have on the Northern route.

The way in which these Kakhyengs tyrannize over the peaceable Burmans in other neighbourhoods is lamentable. A characteristic incident has just occurred here. A couple of Kakhyengs got into a boat, and from it fell into the water and were drowned. The Tsawbwa sent word to say that if the boat had not been there the men would not have been drowned, and the village therefore must pay a fine of a certain amount of salt. The fine was paid to avoid worse evil.

*(To be continued.)*

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of the members of this association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, February 19, 1906, for the purpose of hearing a paper by Shaikh Abdul Qadir, B.A., on "Young India: Its Hopes and Aspirations." The Hon. Mr. Justice Budruddin Tyebji (a Judge of His Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Bombay) occupied the chair. There were present, among others: Sir William Wedderburn, BART., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. C. A. Abdul Latif, Dr. Pollen, C.I.E., Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, Mr. A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Skrine, Mr. C. W. Whish, Mr. S. Digby, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. Yusuf Ali, Mr. H. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. Husain B. Tyabji, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. Arthur Sawtell, Mr. Mussaldan, Mr. Albert Louis Cotton, Dr. Bhaba, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. P. D. Patel, Miss Hilda Malony, Mrs. Corfield Lambert, Mr. Lufti Ali, Mr. D. D. Kamat, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. C. J. Bond, Mr. A. S. Khan, Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Mr. W. F. Piper, Mr. A. E. Dakhyl, Mr. D. N. Basu, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. K. A. Bhojwain, Mr. E. Dalgardo, Mr. G. E. Ward, Mr. S. H. Swiny, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Howarth, Mr. and Mrs. May, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. S. M. Ahmad, Mrs. Audy, Mr. Q. T. Husain, Miss Chapman Hands, Mr. K. L. Dhingra, Mr. K. A. Rahman, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Sec.).

The CHAIRMAN said that he had much pleasure in introducing his friend Shaikh Abdul Qadir, who had been acquainted with the meetings of the association for many years; he was a first-class lecturer, and was not unknown to the audience.

The paper was then read.\*

MR. PARMESHWAR LALL, in opening the discussion, said that Indians had an ancient reputation of being philosophers, and Mr. Abdul Qadir had certainly kept up that reputation by the disinterested and philosophic description he had given of the state of things in India; but there was something deeper going on which apparently he did not care to bring to the attention of the meeting. He (the speaker) understood that at these meetings political discussions were forbidden, and that was probably the reason why the matter had not been brought forward. Along with the growth of education in India, the poverty of her people also increased. The Indian of their grandfather's time who would have been horrified at their coming to England used to have more to eat and drink than the Indian of to-day. India had sent, and was sending, a very large amount of money every year to this country, and that amount continually increased, and a country that sent out such a large proportion of its revenue to a

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

foreign country, for which it got no direct return, was certainly not in the fair way of progress. The amount sent out of India at the present time amounted to almost £1 per head of the population of this country. India was, unfortunately, the poorest country on the face of the earth, and with that terrible drain on her resources, education, social reform, industrial reform, and political reform, were hampered. Some idea of the indifference of England to the real wants of India might be gathered from the King's speech of that day (a summary of which had been seen by the speaker on his way to the meeting), in which, although India was convulsed on account of the partition of Bengal, and the boycotting of British goods was raging fiercely, there was not one word about India. As long as that indifference lasted, the danger in India was very great indeed in spite of the very pleasant theories in which the lecturer had been indulging. After twenty-one years of meetings of the Indian National Congress, English public opinion was still as indifferent as it ever was, and under the circumstances what wonder was it that there was discontent in India; what wonder was it that they should get tired of continual blood-sucking. Englishmen should be alive to the gravity of the situation, and try to meet it because the growing poverty of the people, and the growing despair of any reform coming to them in the ordinary way, reforms might be made to come in the most frightful fashion. (Applause.)

MR. MARTIN WOOD, as one of the oldest members of the Association, expressed himself as much pleased with the Shaikh Abdul's paper, which, he thought, was essentially reasonable and comprehensive in its view and in the best possible tone. They had seen during the last six or seven years in India a certain expansion of self-help and self-reliance in various forms which had not been so prevalent hitherto, and which he trusted would go on increasing. At the same time there was much still to be desired in that direction. Another point, the awakening of the people of India to their position as British citizens was a very important matter; but he was very sorry to have to confess that that movement had not met from this side with as much fair recognition as could be hoped. In contrast to the antagonism which of late years the governing class in India had shown to various reasonable political movements, he thought it was well to recall the encouraging aspects in former times which had been so well explained in the paper. The last speaker had said that the Association was opposed to the discussion of political subjects, but that was by no means the case. It depended on how these subjects were discussed; and as far as the broad view taken in this paper of the relations between the Indian people and the ruling classes was concerned, it was entirely in accordance with the objects of the Association, and he expressed satisfaction that one of its original Indian members had done them the honour of presiding that day.

MR. YUSUF ALI, I.C.S., said that he thought he might at the outset congratulate Mr. Abdul Qadir on the excellent paper he had read to the meeting, and on the summary and analysis of the movements at work which made ideas filter from the educated to the uneducated classes. Most of those who had observed Indian life had noticed that things were moving in a different direction from that in which they appeared to be



moving on the surface. In many of the developments of popular ideas it had been found that the Indian Press exercised an amount of influence on the people which was not suspected originally by those who only looked at things from a conventional point of view. While therefore he entirely agreed with the analysis which the lecturer had given of the causes at work which tended towards the elevation of the people of India, he thought he had been less than fair to the amount of work that had been done by Government in the matter of elementary education and the sympathy shown towards political movements. He thought he detected somewhat of a sneer when the lecturer asked the question: What had Government been doing to neglect elementary education? He might be wrong, but his reading of the political history of India during the past few years was somewhat different. Not many years ago the Government were trying to drive the Indian population to take elementary education, and the people would not have it. He did not think he was exaggerating when he said that in the country districts, as opposed to the towns, it was the constant efforts of the Government through its educational and civil officers to impart elementary education that were in a large measure responsible for such progress as had been achieved in elementary education. He did not mean to assert that Government agency had been the only agency for the support of popular education, nor that at the present moment popular education was looked upon with indifference by the people. On the contrary, there was a larger demand for education than could be supplied by existing educational institutions and authorities. It was largely a question of funds. If they had sufficient funds to start a large number of schools, they would have as many students coming to them now as there would be room for. At the same time he thought the efforts that had been made in the past to encourage education ought to be recognised, and while the apathy of the lower classes of the population towards elementary education ought to be understood and appreciated, it ought at the same time to be recognised that the people had generally shown a greater inclination for higher and secondary education. He believed in many instances secondary education had not received the amount of attention it ought to have received; but in that matter things were now moving somewhat differently. The claims of elementary education having been recognised there was a good basis created on which a higher superstructure of secondary and of University education could be raised. He did not mean to assert that one should necessarily take precedence of the other, though it was an arguable point, but he thought it would be perfectly legitimate to say that higher education and secondary education would be a complete failure unless elementary education had been sufficiently instilled into the people.

As to the second point he was rather surprised to find the lecturer criticise the attitude of Government towards political institutions. It was too much to ask that Government should stoop down from its pedestal and say to all political movements: "Yes, you are perfectly right, and we want to welcome you." To a certain extent the Government always ought to welcome movements based on reasonable ideas and he believed there

were no popular movements based on reasonable ideas which would not ultimately assert their claim to recognition; but he thought it was going too far to claim that those movements which had for their primary object the entire change of the machinery by which the Government was conducted should immediately and *ipso facto* receive a measure of Government encouragement which they did not receive in any other country. (Hear, hear.) In the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin the Congress itself received, he might almost call it, an enthusiastic welcome from the authorities in the capital of the country. He believed that Lord Dufferin invited the delegates of the Congress to a party at which he gave them full opportunity for social intercourse, and transmuted an official reception into a friendly reunion by his Irish geniality and charm of manner. Some people might say, "What about the speeches?" because Lord Dufferin criticised the Congress and called it "the representatives of a microscopic minority." That phrase had a certain amount of sting in it; but they had to ask themselves: Was the sting based on fact or not? If it was not, it would have been entirely indefensible. If it was, was there anything to be surprised at? It was the business of the Government and of a responsible administrator like Lord Dufferin to point out what they conceived to be the fact, but if a popular movement were endowed with any vitality, or had the courage of its convictions, of course it would look facts fairly in the face. Government never took up an attitude of hostility to it, nor made an attempt to suppress it, and in his (the speaker's) own private opinion had absolutely no intention of showing any hostility. (Hear, hear.) He thought it was unreasonable to demand that the Government should encourage it in the same way that they would be expected to encourage educational or social movements. The lecturer had pointed out that the Aligarh College was an institution that had received a large amount of Government help; but he should have gone further and said that had it not been for Government assistance the Aligarh College would not have occupied the position it did at present. Further, he did not think the Aligarh College was the only institution that had received Government encouragement. The lecturer would find, on reference to some recent correspondence in the *Pioneer*, about the Hindoo College in the United Provinces that Government had clearly been sympathetic as regards earnest private efforts in education. He believed the Government had done a great deal in collecting and preserving objects of art and antiquities. Government had also spent a large amount of money in collecting historical manuscripts, and Government had done a great deal to foster social movements as opposed to political movements. He, of course, expressed no opinion as to whether the political movements were right or wrong, but his opinion was that everyone in every country ought to enjoy perfect freedom of speech and ought to express the faith that is in him, and should be at liberty to organize in order to express it; but he thought it was wrong to think that because official favour was not shown to any particular movement that therefore there was want of freedom. Freedom consisted in allowing you to do what was right. If a movement was suppressed by

law, merely because it was critical and for no other reason, then there was no freedom. If a movement was allowed full scope to carry on its own propaganda, provided it was carried on within all reasonable bounds, he thought they were right in saying it was a free movement and entitled to live as long as it showed itself worthy to live.

There were only two more points he desired to refer to besides what he had said as regards the Government and the aims and aspirations of Young India. One of the greatest ideals they ought to have before them was the formation of character. He believed in India they had got as clever people as in any other country in the world; but he thought he was also right in saying that in India their weak point was strength of character, whether it took the form of not continuing a movement that had been started, or the form of intolerance of opposition, or the form of not taking themselves seriously. (Hear, hear.) It always amounted to this—that they were not able to show that strength of fibre, and that courage of their convictions, which were absolutely necessary before any movement amongst their people, social, political, or educational, could ever hope to achieve success. The next point they had to study was the difference between fractiousness and freedom, between slavishness and discipline, between sycophancy and a proper reverence of constituted authority. He thought they should gain in usefulness by showing deference to people with better experience than themselves instead of showing too great an impatience with those who were in authority. The sooner they placed those ideals and aspirations before themselves, the distinction between sycophancy on the one hand and that independent bearing on the other, which understood one's own position and the position of one's opponents, the sooner would it be possible for them to achieve their aims. In conclusion he strongly urged that in discussing these questions in the philosophic aspect mentioned by Mr. Parmeshwar Lall they should bear in mind the accomplished facts. It was no use taking up a certain attitude and running it for all it was worth; they must recognise that facts were facts, and on those facts their chief duty was to see how far they could use them for the furtherance of those objects which they all had at heart. (Applause.)

Mr. J. D. PATEL said: I think we are all very much indebted to Mr. Abdul Qadir for giving us a paper on a subject which is so very important and interesting. Gentlemen, India presents a problem which is most profound and interesting in the history of the world.

I must also congratulate Mr. Abdul Qadir for his paper, which is excellent in every way. When a subject is controversial, it is not an easy task to handle it so as to give it a fair and impartial treatment. Mr. Qadir, to his great credit, has got over all those difficulties which lay in his path.

Time being very short, I have to hurry on and come to the point at once. Gentlemen, I do not stand here to denounce the British rule. That is not my business. I stand as a fair and impartial critic. I admit that many legislative measures and social reforms have been passed to benefit the country. Laws with good intentions and sincere motives have been passed. But I am afraid their effects very often have been otherwise.

The machinery of administration, which was useful and necessary fifty years ago, cannot be and is not necessary and useful at the present time. Changes have taken place in the thoughts, ideas, desires, intelligence, and aims of the people. Progress has been made in material ways, and I think it is high time that they must have a proper and just share in the administration of the government of their own country. It is no use keeping them out of it. With your permission I will quote a couple of independent authorities to substantiate the truth of what I say.

Lord Curzon said: "Changes should be taking place in the thoughts, the desires, and aims of the intelligent and educated men of the country which no wise and cautious Government can afford to disregard, and to which they must gradually adapt their system of administration, if they do not wish to see it shattered by forces which they themselves have called into being, but which they have failed to guide and control."

The Marquis of Hartington, when Secretary of State for India, said: "that the exclusion of Indians from the government of their own country could not be a wise procedure on the part of the British people, as the only consequence could be to make the Indians desirous of getting rid in the first instance of their European rulers."

Gentlemen, talking of reforms I should suggest as the first reform the curtailment of military expenditure. India's cry of crushing military charges has been always sought to be hushed up by dangling before her eyes the bogey of a Russian invasion. In order to prepare her to meet Russia domestic reforms have been postponed, education starved, industries left stagnant, and the people taxed most heavily. In spite of this we always hear from Englishmen that the army is inadequate, and its organization not yet complete. Well, if the army is insufficient, why peril the safety of the country by sending Indian troops to China, Egypt, Arabia, and even to Europe (despatch of Indian troops to Malta, 1878). This shows that the country does not want such a big army.

I think this is a most conclusive condemnation of the system of government now pursued in India, that though practically hundreds of millions have been spent on the defences of the country during a period of more than twenty years, at the end of this period it should be said by the Englishmen themselves that the army is insufficient and its organization incomplete. Fancy India having spent millions for nothing more than this state of affairs.

I see my time is up, and with your permission, Mr. President, I will say one remark more before I sit down.

Gentlemen, very often it has been said by the opponents of progressive movement in India that the interests of the educated classes are not the same as those of the uneducated class. Can anything be more sham, hollow, unreal, and illusory? These people themselves in their heart of hearts know that such a distinction does not exist and will never exist. To hold that the interests of the educated are antagonistic to those of the uneducated I call an idle pretence.

This is why I would earnestly urge you, ladies and gentlemen, to give your active support and unceasing efforts for a better, more humane, more just, and, above all, more economical government in India.

The discussion was continued by Mr. C. Rai, Mr. Q. T. Husain and Mr. P. Narian, who criticised the defence of the Government by Mr. Yusuf Ali.

SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR, in replying to the criticisms which had been made on his paper, said that his task had been rendered easy, because most of the speakers had gone in for Mr. Yusuf Ali. He thanked Mr. Yusuf Ali for the relief he had thus afforded him. Practically there were two points he had to answer, the first made by Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, and the other by Mr. Yusuf Ali. With regard to the remark of Mr. Parmeshwar Lall that he had eschewed the political side of the question (which he thought had been rather unfortunately brought in by other speakers) in his paper, he had taken a higher stand than simply deference to the wishes of the Association. He had pointed out in his paper how many important lines of activity there were available for the different classes in India to co-operate in, and as the political side had already caused a good many differences of opinion, it was desirable that they should bring into prominence other institutions which gave more occasion for co-operation between the different classes of people inhabiting India, and also between the Government and the people. (Hear, hear!) The Industrial Exhibition organized of late by the National Congress itself afforded an instance of what could be done. (Hear, hear!) When that Industrial Exhibition was started the differences that had hitherto existed between Congressmen and some classes of the people were sunk in the cause of industrial progress, and Hindoos and Mohammedans had been working shoulder to shoulder in making that movement a success. (Applause.) It ought also to be remembered that that movement from the beginning had had the support of the Government. Wherever an industrial exhibition had been organized the Governor or the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province had rendered the organizers valuable assistance. With regard to the remarks of his friend, Mr. Yusuf Ali, the paper did not ask the Government to encourage a political movement like the Congress. The point was that the attitude of hostility to it was unjustified, and in defence of that Mr. Yusuf Ali had not stated anything. In fact, his argument that Lord Dufferin gave it a little recognition in the beginning made the hostility shown to it later on in official circles more objectionable. The details of that hostility could be given if required, but he did not think it necessary to enter into them at the far-end of the meeting. With regard to the state of primary education, and all other education, he thought that no sensible Indian could ever deny the debt of gratitude he owed to the British Government for giving India education (Hear, hear); but the complaint had often been made by the people and accepted by responsible officials and members of the Government that the Government had not done as much for education and had not given as much of its funds towards the cause of public instruction as was necessary, and as was done by other countries. (Hear, hear!) That was what he meant to invite attention to when he had said that perhaps the Government might have been sleeping pretty soundly for some time to have allowed primary education to be so little advanced, but he did not mean to deny the value of what had already been done.



On the contrary, he would be the foremost to give the Government credit for the work it had already done in that direction, but he should also be amongst the first to ask for still larger work to be done in the same direction. (Hear, hear!)

The CHAIRMAN said: I believe it has been the practice of the gentlemen who have presided at these meetings to say a few words in winding up the discussion, and I do not propose to depart from that practice, although I must say that I have very little to say upon the subject. In the first place, I must congratulate you upon the excellent lecture which we have listened to by our worthy lecturer. (Applause). Whether we agree with him in all he has said or not, I think we cannot but admit that the lecture which he has delivered displays a great deal of thought and deliberation, and a deep study of the subject on which he has spoken, and I think we must all admit that the expectations we had formed of listening to something that was worth listening to have not been in the least, at all events, as far as I am concerned, disappointed. Then, as regards the discussion, the lecturer has said that my friend Mr. Yusuf Ali really has come in for a good deal of the discussion and a good deal of the criticism which would otherwise have been directed to the lecturer himself; but, after all, we are met here for the purpose of discussing, and, I suppose, for the purpose of criticising each other, and as so much has been said upon the freedom of speech that ought to be allowed by the Government of India and in other countries, certainly it would be highly inconsistent on our part not to allow the fullest freedom of speech here. (Laughter.) But, after all, really the question is one of practical administration, and we have met here not merely for the purpose of discussing it, but also for the purpose of saying something that might throw light upon the very great and very important questions which face the Government of India. In the first place, I think we must admit that no Government can deal with any questions of importance unless it is in possession of the ideas and aspirations of the people whom they are called upon to govern (hear, hear); and, therefore, so long as the natives of the country speak their minds with freedom, but, at the same time, with all due respect to the powers that be, and as long as they do not transgress those bounds of decent criticism, which I think it is the duty of all decent speakers to keep in mind, I feel perfectly certain, and I am sure, from my own experience, that the Government of India is just as willing to listen to any criticism of its acts as any Government can be. Of course, the natives of India in criticising the acts of Government very often forget to make those allowances which I think it is our duty to make for those who are our rulers. We forget oftentimes to remember that India is not one country, but that it is a conglomeration of countries; we forget that India does not consist of one people, but it consists of a large variety of people; and we also forget that the duty of the Government is not to any particular section of the community, but to all these communities. (Hear, hear!) I think it will be found that when there is some complaint by Mussulmans of the attitude of the Government towards them, it perhaps owes its origin to a desire on the part of the Government to conciliate, to a certain degree, the Hindoos; and when the Hindoos complain that the Government is not



acting as fast as they desire, it possibly arises from the desire of the Government to see that they do not go too fast as far as the Mussulmans are concerned; and I believe it is to a great extent, in this desire of the Government to conciliate the feelings of these various communities, that a good deal of explanation will be found of what appears to most of us the halting attitude which the Government have been taking,—looking at what has been going on during the last fifty years in India. Although I have oftentimes in former days criticised the acts of Government, I would ask my young friends to remember whether they have not very much to be grateful for, although they have no doubt also many causes to complain; but in looking at the acts of the Government, it does not do either for young India or, for the matter of that, middle-aged India, or old India, always to fix its eyes upon the faults of the Government, and entirely to forget those blessings which we enjoy under the ægis of the British Government. (Hear, hear!) I have generally found that when any matter of public interest is brought forward before the authorities, if the memorials are couched in decent and respectful and proper language, they have always been listened to, and I have never yet had any cause of complaint with reference to the reception of any of these memorials and addresses that have been sent up from responsible parties; but when people, instead of pressing their requests in proper language, use language which goes beyond the bounds of mere decency, I think one cannot be surprised if oftentimes the replies which they get from responsible authorities are couched in language which, perhaps, is not so pleasant to listen to. But, then, Governments, after all, are the same as private individuals. If a request is addressed to a private individual in a manner that appeals to him properly, I think we must all admit that there is much more chance of its being listened to and possibly assented to. If the request is addressed in another set of words, that request may be refused, and I have, therefore, always, wherever I have had anything to do with public work in India, impressed on my countrymen the desirability of keeping within temperate, modern language, and of addressing the Government in those tones which we ourselves like to be addressed in. (Hear, hear!) I feel perfectly certain, for example, that when the proceedings of the Congress are carried on on these lines, they are listened to with greater consideration than if they were carried on on different lines.

Now, as regards the attitude of Government towards the Congress, although we have been reminded that this is an occasion where political views may be discussed, it must be borne in mind that in the position which I occupy at present, I am not at liberty to discuss any political questions of a controversial character; but I believe that Government perfectly understand and recognise that the Congress is not a seditious body. I believe they recognise that the Congress does consist of a large body of people speaking with authority upon the question, and although they do not like their acts to be criticised openly in the way that sometimes they have been, I believe that the resolutions of the Congress are really considered by Government in a sympathetic spirit; and as far as they think any effect can be given to them, I believe that they are desirous of giving effect to them, and to the desires of the nation as expressed through

the Congress. But after all—speaking now for my own countrymen—I think we have to address ourselves more to the question of education and to the question of social reform, side by side with the question of political reform. I am afraid that young India has fixed its attention too exclusively upon politics and too little upon education and upon social reform. I am one of those who think that our improvement and progress lies not in our efforts simply in one direction, but in various directions (hear, hear), and that we ought to move side by side for the purpose of improving our social status and our educational status quite as much as our political status. It is no use labouring altogether for a representative Government of a very advanced type if the majority of our own countrymen are still steeped in ignorance, and experience shows that the majority of the Indian subjects have not yet appreciated the advantages of that higher education upon which I think the fate of our nation really rests. Look at the Mussulmans. I have often in my judicial capacity had to deal with wills made and executed by my own people, and I have found that a very wealthy individual who dies, if he has no near relations, his one idea is to devote his fortune to some old-fashioned charity, such as the feeding of fakirs, the building of old-fashioned tanks, or making pilgrimages to Mecca, or reading so many hundreds of times the pages of the Koran, or things of that kind—very excellent things in themselves, but which, unfortunately, do not advance the fortunes of the nation. Now if, when young India becomes old and is about to make its will, it will only remember, instead of leaving their fortunes to these old-fashioned charities, to devote their fortunes to the advance of education, I think we should have very much less cause of complaint against Government, because probably we should be able to do that ourselves which we now ask Government to do. As regards the employment of the people in Government service, I think it is a perfectly legitimate aspiration on the part of the natives of India to be employed in larger and larger numbers in the higher grades of the public service. Natives of India possess very high natural qualifications for employment in many branches, such as the judicial, the public works, the railways, the telegraphs, and I for one am unable to see why much larger numbers of the natives of the country should not be employed in these departments not only without prejudice, but with great advantage to the empire. (Applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, it is getting very late, and I do not wish to detain you any longer. I simply once more express my pleasure at the lecture which we have listened to, and I think I may take it upon myself to express on your behalf also, the pleasure with which we have heard this paper. (Loud applause.)

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN: Ladies and gentlemen, a very pleasing duty has been assigned to me, which is to propose a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman. I am sure we are very grateful to him for presiding, and for the interesting and judicious advice he has given; also, it gives me particular pleasure to propose this vote of thanks for personal reasons. One of them is that Mr. Justice Tyebji has been my friend for about forty years, and he is one of those men that the more you see of him the more you like him and respect him. Another reason that gives me pleasure is that Mr.

Justice Tyebji has had a most distinguished career in the public service, and a third reason I may give is, that he is one of those who has done more than most to direct and stimulate the energies and the aspirations of young India in a right direction. (Applause.) The lecturer mentioned that there are two directions in which progress has been impeded : one was from defects of education, and another was want of unity amongst the workers. In both those directions Mr. Justice Tyebji has been remarkably distinguished. His family for several generations has done in Bombay a great deal to assist education amongst the Mussulmans, which community, as regards intelligence, are in no way behind their brethren the Hindoos. The Tyebji family accepted Western education early, and have taken full advantage of it. As regards unity amongst the different classes of the community, I can say that Mr. Justice Tyebji specially represents that principle. There were three distinguished gentlemen who were my contemporaries in Bombay, who represented the Hindoos, the Mussulmans, and the Parsees. Mr. Justice Tyebji represented the Mussulmans, Sir Pheroz-shah Mehta the Parsees, and the late Mr. Justice Telang the Hindoos ; and those three gentlemen worked together in perfect harmony, and showed the very great advantages that ensue when high-minded men and the whole of the community, instead of advocating what we may call selfish interests, were working together for the public good. I have therefore the greatest pleasure in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN having seconded the motion, it was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting for the vote of thanks, the proceedings terminated.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

A MEETING of this Association was held on Monday, March 5, 1906, at the Caxton Hall, for the purpose of hearing a paper by A. Yusuf Ali, Esq., M.A., LL.M. (Cantab), I.C.S., on "Civic Life in India." The Right Hon. Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B., G.C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., presided. There were present, amongst others: Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.I.E., LL.D., Lady Lyall, Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Elliot, K.C.S.I., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir Frederick Fryer, K.C.S.I., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Major F. H. Fink, I.M.S., Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. J. W. Fox, Colonel and Mrs. Altaf Ali, Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Mrs. and Miss Pollen, Syed Major Hasan Bilgrami, Mr. Arthur Sawtell, Mrs. Corbet, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. and Mrs. T. W. Arnold, Mr. William Irvine, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. P. D. Patel, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. H. Nott, Miss A. A. Smith, Mr. R. L. Dhingra, Mr. N. Jacobs, Mr. A. E. Lorain, Miss Watson, Mr. K. A. Bhojwain, Miss R. James, Miss A. L. Major, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. T. Morison, Mr. S. A. Coad, Mr. J. Read, Mr. M. A. Khan, Mr. M. A. Z. Ali, Mr. C. A. Latif, Miss Gertrude Toynbee, Mrs. MacDonald, Mr. and Mrs. F. Wyer, Mrs. Mackenzie, Dr. Bhaba, Miss Chapman Hands, Miss Stevens, Dr. Oswald, Major G. Malet, Mr. K. C. Tyabjee, Mr. A. V. Gompertz, Mr. Kavel Krisna, Mr. R. Rai, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Sec.).

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced the lecturer, the paper was then read.\*

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we have had the advantage of hearing to-day an address on one of the most important problems that lies before those who are responsible for the Government of India. The lecturer has had the advantage of combining experience as an Indian official with the knowledge of his own country, which comes from being born and bred in it. He has evidently studied the history, and has given us a glance back at the past traditions of the country with reference to its constitution, and he is thoroughly acquainted, accurately in detail, with the present state of the municipalities. I think you will all agree that both in the form and in the substance of his lecture he has been most successful. (Hear, hear!) The lecturer has said, and rightly, that those who have dealt with an active civic life in India have fixed their gaze "on the predominating factor in the government of the country—the factor which has moulded its history for centuries past. That has always taken the shape of a central Government, responsible only to its own conscience, and to religious and moral sanctions, for its policy and conduct." In fact, that only amounts to this, that they are irresponsible—responsible to nobody at all. There really was no continuous growth, as far as I know, of political institutions in India. The grouping of the population—such grouping as there was—was not political: it was religious. They had their customs and their personal law. In early days they had no rights or privileges at

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

all as political communities. Another remark which the lecturer made is of great importance, and paramount in the history of the question. It is that the great towns in India, rich and populous as they were, have never had any sort of municipal autonomy. They have never had any such thing as European towns have had for centuries ; they have had no power of corporate action ; they played no part at all in the political history of India. I observe that as a remarkable and important fact. Though Abul Fazl, as the lecturer says, recorded a pious opinion as to the duties of a kotwal and his qualifications, evidently nothing came of it, and I think, if I am not wrong, the kotwal himself was never a political officer, but always an officer of the executive Government. Any idea of recognising local duties and authorities, if it ever germinated in the minds of the Mogul Emperors, was, as the lecturer says, to use his own phrase, "subdued in the martial clang of internecine warfare." That is, it was stifled in the confusion of foreign invasions, frontier wars, civil wars, and incessant rebellion, which filled the annals of the Mogul Empire till it declined and fell. It was impossible, under those circumstances, that municipal institutions could exist at all. Moreover, I am afraid the idea itself was quite foreign to the Constitution, and to the ideas and the atmosphere of the Mogul Empire. Although its rulers were brilliant and powerful, and had considerable notions of statesmanship, such a thing was not within their range, and this has been a most serious misfortune for India. The explanation, however, is not far to seek. The Mogul Empire which preceded the British power was in principle and practice an absolute despotism. It was like a great steam-roller which rolled flat all obstacles to arbitrary official authority. It enforced a dead-level of subordination wherever it was powerful enough to do so. I may say that all Asiatic despotisms have been of that kind, and that is the real reason why almost all these despotisms, brilliantly successful as some of them have been, have usually been unstable, short-lived, and top-heavy. The mainspring of all those Governments was military force, and when that mainspring grew weak and broke, the whole machine fell out of gear and the whole fabric collapsed. I would remark that I lay stress on this point to show the state of the country, and the difficulties which the British Government had to face when it took over the Government from the Mogul Empire. All India was in a state of confusion and anarchy, and there had been a complete levelling of every sort of local institution, except, as I say, the law of the country and the castes—that is to say, the religious grouping ; and, of course, to a certain extent, the separate jurisdictions of certain chieftains and independencies within the Mogul Empire, whilst their vast and imposing authority lasted. The British Government had to build on the foundations of their predecessors, and they found complete disorganization ; they had everything to begin afresh. There was nothing that they could keep up. There were no institutions or conditions or independent action in the towns, and for a long time the British rulers themselves were so much occupied in pacifying the country and consolidating their dominion that they could not possibly enter into local questions. The lecturer has shown, however, that the British Government, by various Acts and orders, en-



deavoured at last, as he said, fifty years ago, to plant the germs of municipal autonomy in the towns, though the idea of administrative progress really dates from the suppression by the Government of the great Mutiny in 1857. I may say briefly that I consider modern India dates from the year following that great convulsion. Since that time the great policy of administrative decentralization, which is the keynote of our policy throughout India, has been steadily gaining ground, and I quite agree that the main impulse and the practical application of that principle may be found, as the lecturer says, in the action of Lord Ripon's Government in 1882. That was Lord Ripon's policy. That was a principle he did his very best to enforce, and I think his action was both right and just, and I believe it has always been recognised as such by the natives of India. I speak with some knowledge of the subject, because in 1882 the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, now called the United Provinces, were under my charge, and I had to introduce these reforms as best I could; but the very extensive modifications and improvements in all the working details that have been made in the last twenty-five years are, of course, due to my successors. I have no doubt at all that they are making excellent progress, and I am very glad to hear from the lecturer the condition of things at which we have now arrived. All political institutions, to take root, must grow gradually; they must be adapted to the circumstances, and to the wants and conditions of the country, and that is the great difficulty. It is an ordinary mistake, made by the English as well as others, in proposing an institution for a new country, to imitate too narrowly the systems with which they are familiar at home. That is a natural thing. In the first place, it saves a great deal of trouble, and it saves thinking. Of course, it is possible to introduce machinery wholesale; but it is another thing to those who have to work it. But when you consider that the whole thing in India was, at the beginning of British rule, perfectly new, and had no roots and no foundations, and when we look back in England and remember that the office of the person in whom all municipal government culminates, and who is, as it were, the illustration of it—the Lord Mayor of London—is 800 years old, you have some conception of the time it takes to build up, squarely and solidly, institutions of this sort in such an extensive country as India. The distribution of local jurisdiction to those who best understand local feelings and interests is, I trust and believe, fully recognised as the cardinal policy of our Government in India. It has been acted on in the larger sense by the establishment of legislative councils, by greatly enlarging their powers, by spreading broadcast throughout India such institutions as the district boards, rural boards, and the 790 municipalities mentioned by the lecturer. I am as confident as anybody can be that where there are municipalities, whether they are in towns or rural boards, the devolution and distribution of power of jurisdiction and of authority in a vast Empire, such as we have in India, is not merely the best policy, but it is the only policy, and the only thing you can do; but you must always remember that it is the exact reverse of the policy of our predecessors. Our predecessors went on building up a top-heavy Government, piling it up, and that is the reason why it collapsed. We are broaden-



ing the base. They put too much on the upper story; but the difficulty is in constructing steadily and patiently, and I would say that there is a slight tendency in India to expect too much from the people. I only say to those who criticise the municipal Government of India, and who suppose that even in England the government of the boroughs and the government of the towns is perfect, and worked in the best way, and does not run wrong sometimes, and does not need watching and supervision, that experience would show this to be a mistake. The great thing is to have patience in India, not to expect too much—to work slowly, and build up a system that will attract the people and engage them in one great policy for the government of that vast Empire. Political interest and capacity has been in the last generation certainly greatly increased. If you want evidence on this point, I do not think you can have any better proof than the very intelligent and practical appreciation of this important subject which has been to-day given us by the lecturer. (Applause.)

**SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN:** Ladies and gentlemen, I have no desire or intention of making a speech to you this afternoon, and my only object in rising is to submit an appreciation of two of the earlier workers in the municipal field, long before the arrival in India of Lord Ripon, of whom our chairman has spoken. I would invite you to remember and acknowledge the enlightened efforts of two great Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab, Sir Robert Montgomery and Sir Donald McLeod. The real birth of municipal institutions in India is, I think, more due to the initiative of Sir Robert Montgomery than to that of anyone else. We possessed full-blown and active municipal committees in all the large towns of the Punjab in the early sixties. I myself, I hope not too autocratic a magistrate, was at the head of the municipal committee of Amritsar, the great religious centre of Sikhism, in 1868, fourteen years before any decrees were issued on the subject of municipal government by Lord Ripon. Sir Donald McLeod followed most loyally and sympathetically in his predecessor's footsteps. With reference to these chiefs, under whom I served, and whom I very much honour, I am anxious to declare how much municipal institutions (from which all those who love India expect so much) owe to those two Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab. (Applause.)

**SIR FREDERIC FRYER** said that his experience of civic government in the Punjab dated from much the same time as that of Sir Lepel Griffin. He remembered that they had municipalities in the Punjab when he joined the province in 1865, and even in those days great interest was taken in municipal work. When they started district boards he was Deputy Commissioner of Azara Hazara, and he recollected that they had an election of members of the board. A complaint was brought to him by one candidate that, though he had a very large majority of votes in his favour, another candidate had been returned instead of him. An inquiry was held into the matter, and the Tehsildar said that the statement was correct; but he considered the other candidate the best man, and therefore he had torn up a sufficient number of votes in favour of the successful candidate, so as to bring in the man he thought more fitted for the post.

He failed to see that his procedure was in any way improper. He (the speaker) quite agreed with what the previous speaker had said about district boards not being very useful. They had very little to do, and took very little interest in the matter. Municipal boards in Burmah certainly took great interest in their work. The high proportion of loans came principally from loans incurred by big towns. In Rangoon a great deal of money was borrowed, and was spent in a very useful way in procuring a proper water-supply, a very excellent system of drainage, and generally on works which would be most useful to the town, to the present population and future generations. That money had been exceedingly well spent, but his experience was that in the small towns no money was borrowed as a rule, and they generally contrived to keep their expenditure below their revenue. It was only where works were very large and could not possibly be constructed out of revenue that loans were justifiable. In such cases the resort to the power of borrowing by municipalities was most serviceable. The municipal government of many towns with which he was acquainted was most praiseworthy, and he certainly thought that as a rule members of municipalities, both European and native, took much interest in their work, and as time went on the idea of local government would develop more and more, and be a great benefit to India. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAM IRVINE (late of the Bengal Civil Service) said that the lecturer had very naturally divided the subject into ancient history and the present time. The ancient municipal institutions of India in the English sense were non-existent, and therefore he would say nothing about them, except that in studying native history he had been very much struck by the great strength of local institutions. Very few of the commercial or social disputes of the towns ever travelled any further than the communities themselves; and there was a very strong body of local government of a sort, though it did not extend to what they would consider municipal institutions in the way of roads, drainage, and water-supply. The kotwal was an officer of the central Government—in fact, a police rather than a municipal officer—and he had under him certain local headmen, who collected his dues and helped him in his duties. Turning, then, to the present day, he had been for three years secretary, and at times the chairman, of a large municipality, and for ten years chairman of other municipalities, and therefore he had had considerable experience of the working of those institutions. There was a tendency to date things from one's own recollection, and unfortunately his went back a little further than Lord Ripon's days. With all respect to Lord Ripon's good intentions, he did not think he advanced municipal institutions in the United Provinces. His (the speaker's) connection as secretary with municipalities preceded the year 1882, and he did not think from his subsequent experience of several years the municipal institutions were any better after that time than they were before. The only time the new legislation told was when we defied the Commissioner. A dismissed clerk appealed, and the Commissioner ordered his reinstatement. It was pointed out in the humblest language that we could only be reported to Government: our orders could not be heard in appeal. The case went up

to Government, our view was upheld, and we became a "leading case." So far as he remembered, that is the only instance in which Lord Ripon's legislation gave increased independence to any municipality with which the speaker was concerned. If he were to explain how elections were conducted, it would hardly meet with the views of the free and independent electors of England. Further, he was certain that the sub-district board project of Lord Ripon fell flat from the very day it was issued. These sub-district boards, he supposed, still existed on paper, but he had never attended a meeting of one, nor had he ever read the proceedings of one in the whole course of his official experience; they died still-born. As for the district boards, they foundered principally on the question of income, having to live on money doled out to them by the Government. They were too much nursed, and could do little effective work; they could only administer the orders from the central power, and the members could not be made to take any interest in that system. These boards had no vitality, for the reason that there was no possible interest; the members were told exactly what they were to spend, and what upon. They were entirely in the hands of the superintending engineer and his subordinate, the district engineer. The educational work had formerly been attended to with a good deal of effect. Then it happened that they came under a very strong centralizing Director of Public Instruction, and he took the whole thing out of the hands of the districts; he directed from the centre what they were to do, and the last state of things was worse than the first. There was little life in the district Boards, and he did not believe there ever would be unless they were given an income of their own to administer and expend on plans and projects of their own. (Hear, hear.) Then there was the perennial difficulty that the native of India was very limited in his notions. He wanted a road to his own town, but he could not see why one fifty miles away was needed. So much for district boards. On the other hand, he (the speaker) was a great believer in municipal institutions. He had worked them for twelve or thirteen years, and found there was a lively interest taken in them. He had seen the most wonderful personal zeal displayed; but he was very much surprised to observe from the paper that the borrowing powers had been so largely exercised, and he thought that was an extremely dangerous feature, that should be carefully considered. Indian towns were very poor places, and could not stand heavy taxation, and 50 per cent. of the income spent on the repayment of debt seemed to be monstrous. The pace had been too fast by far, and they should be pulled up. It was all very well to say they must have modern institutions; but if they could not pay for them, they must do without them. He thought that in the last ten years they had been doing too much. (Applause.)

[NOTE.—I may add a word or two that has occurred to me since the meeting on (1) the Act XX. or *chaukidari* towns, (2) the octroi tax, (3) English officials as chairmen and secretaries. The small towns under Act XX. of 1856 suffer greatly from the narrowness of their income, the first charges on which are for watch and ward and scavenging. Still, in

a small way the *panches* do much good work, and it is pleasant on an inspection tour to see the pride with which they show you a bit of pavement or roadway, a newly-cleaned-out and repaired well, or a freshly-planted corner of the camping-ground. The small brick-built towns with which both sides of the Jamnah are dotted from Delhi to the foot of the hills have benefited greatly by the unobtrusive work done in them, so far as funds allow, by their headmen, under the guidance of the district staff. As for the octroi, our lecturer, Mr. Yusuf Ali, has dwelt too exclusively on the obnoxious side of this tax, which as an academic thesis I am not prepared to contest. But even in taxation imagination plays its part. Surely the goose may choose the sauce it is to be cooked with. The fact that indirect taxation is tolerated, while direct taxation is abhorred, must weigh greatly against any theoretic objection to an octroi. The population decidedly prefer it; even if it takes a little more out of their pockets, it takes it insensibly in small sums, and at a time which suits them. On the question of official chairmen and secretaries, there is one aspect of the question which I do not think has been discussed. Municipal work and the charge of a Court of Ward's estate are perhaps the only spheres of his activity in which the English official gets rid of his attitude of tax-gatherer, punisher of evil-doers, or decider of disputes. On a municipal board he and the members meet as men working for a common object. I wish to record the fact that the pleasantest part of my official work was that connected with municipalities; and to this day I feel grateful to one of my official superiors, who forced me, much against my natural bent, to take an active part in it, greatly to my eventual benefit, and, I hope, without detriment to the boards themselves on which I served. What a pity, then, that this avenue to good-feeling between Englishmen and Indians should be definitely closed by the abolition of all official chairmanships !]

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD said : I am glad to avail myself of the invitation to address the meeting, as it gives me the opportunity of publicly expressing the pleasure and admiration with which I have listened to the delivery of Mr. Yusuf Ali's truly admirable lecture. It has been full of instruction and interest for me. But that is not what I so particularly desire to say of it, but rather and advisedly and pointedly this, that what has most moved me has been its remarkable literary quality, the simplicity; ease; and amenity of its expression, and the sanity and serenity of its whole inspiration, and, I would add, the grace and effectiveness of its delivery. Nothing gives me more genuine or greater delight than the discovery of literary ability in any of its true forms among Indian students of the English language, and Mr. Yusuf Ali's command of the tongue that Shakespeare taught and Milton upheld in its loftiest phrasing, and his facility and persuasiveness in its use, whether in writing or speaking, might well be the envy and inspiration of even practised English authors and orators. Of the subject of his lecture he had no practical knowledge, and no title to address an audience of Anglo-Indian experts on it. But the subject had always interested him. In the very first year of his return to India, in 1854, he had in a quite accidental way, come upon Sir George Win-

gate's "Reports" on the Revenue Survey of Bombay, and Goodine's little tract on the "Village Communities of the Deccan," and had been at once and permanently fascinated by them; and he had lived in the Deccan and Concan villages, and as a villager for the time, and twice as the guest of village *patels*, or rural mayors; and all this had led him to the conviction that there was still much more of the civic life and the civic spirit in India, the India of the Hindus—at least, in the Bombay Presidency—than was dreamt of in this country. The communal villages of India, each a self-contained little republic, had indeed proved the salvation of the immemorial *sano-sanet* civilization of India through the 2,000 years of outrageous military devastation and political anarchy anterior to the British pacification of the country; and, with the best intentions, we had in truth done India a dubious service in interfering, in our strenuous manner, so radically as we had with the indigenous communal life of the people. The people of each village regarded it as the very hub of the universe, and all beyond it, even across the hedge, or road, or river; separating it from the immediately neighbouring villages, as the foreign soil of outer barbarians; and they had ever looked on at the struggles of successive armed invaders for the conquest of the country with as little concern as we might at a military tournament in the Agricultural Hall at Islington, or a battle scene on the colossal stage of the Empress Theatre at Earl's Court. It was a pageant which only interested them in so far as it amused them. When in 1857, at Sattara, the only place in Western India where the Mutiny came to any serious head, the native regiments there broke away from their European officers and looted the bazaar, the ryots in the fields within earshot of the city knew little of it, and practically nothing; and to a stranger, who out of mere curiosity questioned them on the matter observed, and without turning from their work, "Oh, it's only some of those black-guards in the town kicking up a rumpus!" The municipal feeling was, indeed, strong in India—that is, among the Hindus—and instinctive, through nearly 3,000 years evolution of it; and I have always felt that it was a calamity we did not endeavour to do more to foster this, so to say, natural instinct, and to develop the civic institutions already existing in the country, particularly in Western India, and, I understand, even more completely in Southern India, rather than attempt, so energetically and inconsiderately, to force on the country the exotic European forms of these communal organizations. The path of the plague had closely coincided with the course of the succession of spheres over which we had established our modern district boards and councils throughout British India.

DR. JOHN POLLEN said Sir George Birdwood had said most of the things he (Dr. Pollen) would have attempted to say much more ably than he could have said them himself. He wished, however, to express his cordial appreciation of the very picturesque and graceful lecture they had been favoured with. He envied Mr. Yusuf Ali his easy flow of words and the correct rounding of his periods, and he could not help recognising also that the lecturer's "terminologies" were not only picturesque, but, what was somewhat unusual in these times, "exact." (Laughter.) He also desired to claim for the memory of Sir Bartle Frere due appreciation for



what that far-seeing statesman had done towards establishing and fostering municipal institutions in Bombay. He felt, too, that he might take some little credit to himself also in connection with Bombay municipal institutions, for he gathered from what the lecturer had said that the grant of the complete franchise to Bombay synchronized in a mysterious way with the date of his own arrival in that province. (Laughter.) It had been his lot to be associated with the Commissioner of Sind in applying the famous orders of Lord Ripon to the existing municipal institutions in that province, and he well remembered how he and Mr. Henry Napier Bruce Erskine (than whom a more able and conscientious administrator India had never seen) (applause) had toiled night after night in the cabin of the Commissioner's steam-yacht on the lovely and lonely Indus over the instructions sent down from Simla or Calcutta, trying to make them fit in with the local self-government already established in Bombay. He remembered Mr. Erskine exclaiming, "What nonsense it all is! Why, we have all these things in Bombay already!"

Dr. Pollen thought the audience should also be grateful to the lecturer for having incidentally drawn from the chairman (Sir Alfred Lyall) such a clear exposition of the new policy with regard to local self-government in India. Dr. Pollen's only objection to that policy was that it was all new, and he rather agreed with Sir George Birdwood that the British Government had not sufficiently utilized existing native institutions and used up the old material in establishing the new order of things. They had always had a very simple and efficient municipal village system in Bombay, and he well remembered how, when, during the stress of plague, the Bombay municipality somewhat lost its head (dissent), the village hamlets in the heart of Bombay produced their long-forgotten *patels*, who marshalled the village servants and took steps to protect their hamlets and arrest the progress of the disease.

MAJOR SYED HASAN BILGRAMI said that the paper they had listened to sustained the reputation that Mr. Yusuf Ali had already established for his keen observation and facility and lucidity of expression, and also for his research and knowledge. He personally looked forward with great confidence to the future of civic work in India, and compared with similar institutions in other countries he did not think they had done very badly. He happened to know something about the municipal institutions of England, and personally he should not put up the local vestries as a model for imitation for India. Officials, whose appointment and tenure of office depended entirely on the will and pleasure of such bodies, often found it difficult to discharge their duties conscientiously and impartially. At one time even the medical officers of health came under this category, and the best class of men could, in consequence, not be induced to accept such appointments. The Local Government Board had to keep a tight hold on the local bodies in England, and it was a good thing for them. It was for that reason that he did not grudge the official control that existed over the municipalities in India, because the magistrate was a man of great intelligence and knowledge, and at the same time able to take an independent and impartial view of conflicting local interests. Municipal



institutions were an indigenous growth of this country, and had reached the highest state of evolution after a very long time. And yet the indebtedness of the municipalities of this country was very great, their administration faulty, and their expenditure wasteful, and in his opinion they required further Government supervision and control. But since he was not there to criticise the institutions of this country, he would only remark that when they did make the comparison he felt a feeling of consolation that perhaps they might do better in the future.

SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR said that after the well-deserved eulogy of the lecture which had fallen from the Chair it was unnecessary to add anything by way of compliment to the learned lecturer for the informing and exhaustive paper which he had read. The lecturer began by a contrast of the India of the past with the India of the present with reference to civic institutions; but they had to remember in that connection that civic institutions as now understood were essentially Western institutions, favoured in their growth by the small size of the countries in which they originated and flourished. When they were engrafted on Indian soil, civic experiment was tried on a larger scale than had ever been attempted before, and therefore in judging of civic work they had to be very lenient, and, as the chairman had put it, they had to wait patiently for the best results. With reference to the opinion expressed by the lecturer about the change that had come over the character of municipal institutions since 1882, which were now almost invariably presided over by an official chairman, the head of the district, he could not agree with the lecturer in believing that that was always the best thing for the municipality. He admitted that there were some municipalities that called for a measure of that kind in order to improve them, but to make a general practice of it he did not think was advisable, keeping in view the fact that on the whole it was admitted that the municipalities had done fairly well. He thought there was a stronger reason for taking exception to the statement that that seemed to be the best policy for the future. If they wanted to foster those institutions, and give more experience and practice to the people in that direction, the best policy would be to trust those who deserved confidence. (Hear, hear.) To keep them constantly in leading-strings was not the best way to foster those institutions. They had been told that the head of the district served as a buffer between the inexperienced boards and the Commissioner, but he did not see why a buffer was required. He had had the advantage of reading recently a very interesting book by a well-known Anglo-Indian journalist, who, describing the comparative lightness of the duties of the Commissioner, said that he held a watching brief for the provincial Government. Such being the case, the Commissioner, among the chief of whose duties was the supervision of those municipal institutions, could very well exercise that amount of official control over these bodies which was absolutely necessary without over-burdening the district officer, whose work was already very heavy.

With regard to the question of the great debt of the municipalities, he thought it was very sad and very unfortunate that half of the income of these bodies should be taken up by the payment of the old debt and the

interest. If some measure could be devised by the Imperial Government, when, as happened some time ago, it had a very good surplus to dispose of, by which part of the immense debt of these bodies could be cleared off once for all, and their capacity for usefulness enhanced by being able to use a larger part of their ordinary income, it would be a measure of great usefulness. The expenses the municipalities had to incur on works like waterworks were particularly entitled to a demand on the Imperial exchequer, because he felt that works of that character, though from one point of view works of local good, were from another point of view of Imperial good. For instance, when the plague broke out, or any other epidemic came on, the Imperial Government had to incur enormous expenditure to stamp out the epidemic. If, instead of that, works like waterworks and a good system of drainage were to be provided for the large towns in times of freedom from disease as preventive measures, and the Imperial Government took a larger share of that expenditure than it did at present, he thought the money would be well invested. (Applause.)

COLONEL C. E. YATE, owing to the lateness of the hour was not able to address the meeting, but has recorded what he was going to say—viz., as follows: There is just one point in the able and well-worded lecture given us by Yusuf Ali to-day that I should like to touch upon, and that is his complaint that too little money is expended on education by the municipalities and District Boards of India. My time has mostly been passed out of British India and away from municipalities, and I am not an authority on District Boards, but from what I have heard I should say that these Boards should not be urged on to spend more money upon education than they do at present. I have heard of District Boards who were spending 25 per cent. of their total income on education alone, and there was not enough money remaining for other works that were urgently required. I should have thought that these Boards required rather to be cautioned against spending too much in this way, especially in the smaller places, where the children of the municipal commissioners and their friends sometimes form a considerable portion of the total number of children to be educated.

The last speaker, Shaikh Abdul Kadir, has dwelt on the lecturer's remarks about the tendency of municipalities throughout India to elect their district officer to be their chairman, and has deprecated the custom, and urged that it should no longer be permitted. Surely the fact that municipalities do so elect their district officers shows of itself that they realize that they still require a trained and experienced officer to guide their deliberations, and to hold the scales even between opposing interests, and, far from urging the abolition of this custom, I should say that the longer it is continued, the more chance we have of municipal government proving the success in India that is hoped for it. As Shaikh Abdul Kadir himself has just said, municipal institutions are a product of the West that have been suddenly planted down in the East, where, as has been shown, the population has had no previous training in the working of them.

The discussion here to-day has demonstrated the fact that barely forty years have passed since municipalities were first inaugurated in India, and what is forty years compared to the 800 years of the Lord Mayorship of London that our chairman has told us of? We cannot do better than pause and think well of the sound and able advice to go slowly and patiently in this matter that Sir Alfred Lyall has given us in the address that has been such a treat to all of us here who have been privileged to hear him to-day. Even after 800 years the action of municipalities in England is far from being free from criticism, and the longer the newly-formed municipalities of India have a trained administrator to guide them, the better for them, I should say.

This expression of a desire for the freedom of Indian municipalities from official guidance is, however, only part and parcel of the present cry of young Indians for a greater share in the administration of India. I was at a lecture here in this very hall only a fortnight ago, when Shaikh Abdul Kadir himself gave us an excellent paper on "Young India: its Hopes and Aspirations," which I listened to with interest. I also well remember the sound advice given to the young Indians then present by our lecturer to-day, Yusuf Ali. I was sorry to see, though, that young India did not relish that advice. They cried aloud for the immediate necessity for higher employment in the Government service in India. One gentleman from Bengal even went so far as to say that if this reform did not come to them in the ordinary way, it would result in its coming in the most frightful fashion—a violent and threatening speech which, however safe and harmless in a London hall, only showed how ill qualified the speaker was to realize the true situation. I wondered at the time if any of the young men who then spoke had ever realized the large share in the administration of India that is now enjoyed by Indians. I wondered if they had ever taken the trouble to examine the Civil Lists of the various provinces in India, and to see how the numbers actually stood. Take the Civil Lists of the larger provinces, like Bengal, Madras, Bombay, or Punjab, for instance. These lists only give the names of those holding superior appointments under the Local Government, and do not include the hundreds and thousands of minor appointments held almost exclusively by Indians.

Well, in the Punjab, which is a much newer province than the others, supposing there are some 2,500 names in the Civil List, of these only about 1,000 will be European names, the remaining 1,500 being purely Indian. This means that for every two Britishers employed in the province there are at least three Indians similarly employed. Now, amongst these Indians will be found men holding the appointments of divisional and sessions judges, magistrates, deputy and assistant commissioners of districts, revenue settlement officers, police, postal, telegraph, railway and forest officers, inspectors of schools, professors of colleges, civil surgeons, superintendents of gaols, civil engineers, examiners of accounts, and officials of every branch of the Government service, in fact. Thus everywhere the Indian official is to be found working side by side with the British official, and in larger numbers than the British, and all on

good pay. Even the clerk on 100 rupees a month in India is far better off than the clerk on £80 a year in England, and his education has probably cost him much less.

I wondered, too, if the young Indian speakers had ever studied the difference of the employment in the Government service given by the Government of India and that given by other Governments. Had they ever realized what chance they would have of steady employment and good pay under such Governments as Persia or Afghanistan? Had they ever been across the Russian frontier in Central Asia, and seen what the chance of employment to Asiatics was there? Under Russian rule there is comparatively little Government education and little Government employment in Central Asia. The Russian *Pristav*, who is a sort of district magistrate and police officer combined, has perhaps one clerk, and that clerk is a Russian. Every appointment, down to the lowest clerkship, is held by a Russian. This is the case not only with administrative officers, but the Customs, postal, railway, telegraph, police, and every sort of official is a Russian. Had they ever been to Indo-China and seen what administration was there under the French Government? I have always heard that Saigon is full of French officials, and the same may, I believe, be said of German, Italian, Dutch, or any other territory in the East. How different this is from what it is in India! No other country in the world offers such a wide field for Government employment as the British Government in India offers to the Indians, and it is not only in India, but in other countries as well that this field is yearly widening out. It was only yesterday that a batch of some fifty Indians sailed from Liverpool for employment in the Government of Southern Nigeria, and as British subjects Indians are thus acquiring the right to Government employment both in East and West Africa, and right well they will acquit themselves, I feel sure. No, it is not the want of employment that India has to complain of at present. It is the intemperate clamour of young men like those I heard the other day that India has to complain of. Speeches such as those only bring down contempt and derision for the cause we have at heart. Old Indian officers like myself, who are deeply interested in India and the Indians, and who would welcome any means of giving a helping hand to the hopes and aspirations of young India, have to pause and wonder where we are to find young Indians really qualified by strength of character, moderation of language, common-sense, and soundness of judgment, to hold the appointments for which they clamour. Shaikh Abdul Kadir, I was glad to see, pointed out in his lecture that there was an ever-increasing number of Indians entering the higher grades of the public service in India, and this is as it should be. We desire that Indians who possess the qualifications for high administrative responsibility should possess that responsibility; but, as in municipalities, so in the public service, the pace should not be forced. Let us proceed slowly and patiently, and the result in the end will be all the better.

MR. YUSUF ALI, in replying on the discussion, said that with regard to the policy of the official chairman having become crystallized by practice,

and not by law, in most parts of India, which Mr. Abdul Qadir had said was not good for the future, he thought it would leave the door open for easy transition at any future time, when a municipality felt itself strong enough to elect a chairman of a non-official character; and, in fact, some of the municipalities did elect non-official gentlemen as chairmen. Another point made by Shaikh Abdul Qadir was that the Government of India ought to give doles and grants to the municipal funds. The Government of India had done that time after time, especially as regards the recent plague expenditure. He might be wrong in using the words "the Government of India," because the system of finance was such that the Government of India made contract grants to the local Government, and the local Government apportioned its grant among the different items of expenditure, including subventions to the municipalities; but the Government had certainly made large grants for purposes of municipal expenditure, and no doubt it would do so again. But it would introduce a wrong and dangerous principle to look upon doles as the means to set right the equilibrium of the municipal services. It would be better if municipalities tried to work within the limits of their own funds.

On the motion of SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, a unanimous vote of thanks was accorded to the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

Mr. Martin Wood writes:

In the discussion on Mr. Yusuf Ali's paper treating of Indian municipalities, Sir George Birdwood claimed to speak as having been one of the original members of the first "responsible" Corporation for the "town and island of Bombay." Having been myself one of that early group, as also, later on, a member of the first "representative" municipality of that city, it was my wish to have made a few remarks, but time did not serve. These would have been mainly by way of filling in two or three shades in the lecturer's brief sketch of the Western municipal methods somewhat hastily pressed upon the three Presidency cities in the middle sixties; and, later on, in less crude form, on two or three of the up-country large cities.

Quite true: much good work was done in these few early years by, or through these improvised corporations. This could scarcely be otherwise; seeing that the local Governments had much neglected their duties as conservators amidst the enormous communities for whose social well-being they were directly responsible. But no indication was given in the paper, and scarcely at all by the speakers who followed, of the severe strain thrown on the civic populations by this new and Europe sort of municipal work. No landed property or other permanent resources were assigned by the Supreme Government to assist these civic communities during the initial stages of their new and immense obligations. Power to "tax themselves" was given freely, and very freely was it used; so that tax-gathering itself became a heavy, and often a baffling burden. The Chief Commissioners and Health Officers, who had to learn the methods of Western civic administration, were necessarily expensive; but the Central authorities thereby found places for these highly-paid officers at other peoples'—that is, the



ratepayers'—heavy cost. Then the new water-supply conservancy and drainage works required expensive engineers and other specialists, mostly brought from England, the cost of whom has been ever mounting.

These local public works were alluded to with some pride, both in the paper and in the discussion; but no one has, or can compute the large sums lost or wasted whilst the Civilian and Engineering authorities, as also the citizens themselves, were feeling after, or fumbling their way through those large and somewhat extravagant undertakings. Nor must it be forgotten that those modern methods of water-supply, drainage, and sanitation involved large loans and burdens of prolonged debt, which the municipalities drag after them like a log, the weight of which can only be gradually lightened by the ratepayers "taxing themselves."

As to methods of this civic taxation, Mr. Yusuf Ali said much about octroi, and seems to regard that convenient but inequitable system with the customary Indian toleration. But the Bombay Corporation, at its start, repudiated that evil fiscal device. It was only after the "inevitable" extravagance had broken down its finances that this pressure on the poor was resorted to; and it was stubbornly resisted by the wisest of Indian members of the Corporation, also by two or three European members.



## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## AKBAR'S REVENUE SETTLEMENTS.

SIR,

My friend Mr. Irvine has called my attention to a statement of Akbar's revenues which is bound up with B.M. MS. Or. 1286 of Keval Rām's Tazkirat-ul-Umarā, Rieu's Catalogue II. 876*b*. This MS. at p. 334*b* gives the revenue (Jama') in the time of Akbar Bādshāh, according to Nizāmu-d-dīn's Tabaqāt Akbarī, as 3 *arbs* and 40 *krors* of Murādī Tanka, and states that this is equal to Rs. 170,000,000. In pounds this comes to £17,000,000. According to this statement, then, Mr. Thomas was right in regarding the Murādī Tanka as equal to  $\frac{1}{20}$  of a rupee. But instead of 6 *arbs*, as taken by Mr. Thomas and given in Elliot (v. 186), it has only three. This is interesting, as it agrees with the India Office MS. No. 998, which has *sihsad u chahal* 340 *krors*. If the compiler of the calculations is right in regarding the Murādī Tanka as a Sikandarī Tanka, and as equal to  $\frac{1}{20}$  of a rupee, his "three *arbs*" is probably more correct than the "six *arbs*" of the MS. relied upon by Thomas, for then the figures will closely agree with De Laet's statement—obtained from the Dutch Chief of Surat and quoted in Thomas's book, p. 20—that Akbar's revenues were 3 *arbs*, 49 *krors* of *tangas*, or 6 *arbs* 98 *krors* of *clams*. It is still a question, however, if the compiler was right in his view of the value of the Murādī Tanka.

The statement in the B.M. MS. above mentioned also gives the revenue in the times of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, the former coming to about £22,000,000, and the latter to about £34,000,000.

H. BEVERIDGE.

February 12, 1906.

"BRITAIN'S DESTINY: GROWTH OR DECAY?" (SECOND NOTICE).

—M. B. F. MAJOR.

"INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION: ITS CAUSE AND CURE."—

ARTHUR KITSON.

"NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL CURRENCY?"—

FISHER UNWIN.

We all know that money, whatever form it may assume, is merely a medium for the exchange of goods; and as the free exchange of the goods of all countries has generally been considered the ideal state of things for profitable commerce, it has also been generally supposed that an international currency, founded on some fairly stable metal, is of all the most desirable. Major Phipson, however, challenges the claim of gold, or any intrinsically valuable substance, to be a suitable medium of exchange, and contends that an absolutely valueless currency, one that is free from all possibility of becoming international, is the best for us, and, I presume, for all other nations. He points out with compelling cogency that even now, though our currency is nominally of gold, yet the overwhelming majority of all our payments are made by means of cheques, which are issued in practically unlimited quantities; and that, too, though the amount of gold in the country at any given time is probably not one-tenth of the amount of our transactions. Now, it is well known also that the amount of the currency should be regulated to suit the volume of our business, and that the regulation of it should in theory be kept in the hands of the Government; but with our system of practically unlimited banks, all issuing cheques to a quite indefinite amount, the Government of this country has, in fact, lost all control over the currency, and the banks literally coin money (or "credit," which answers the same purpose as long as there is no catastrophe), and we have, in consequence, continual fluctuations in prices, which are most objectionable and demoralizing. As Major Phipson points

out, there is only one real "standard of value"\* in this country, and that is wheat (as in India it is perhaps rice), and the great object of our Government should be to keep its purchasing power as steady as may be. But with gold as the medium of exchange it is obvious (as he also points out) that it is entirely beyond the power of any Government to regulate the currency, because they have no means of procuring fresh supplies of it just as they want it, and have to rely on private enterprise to provide the material for the currency, and so, in fact, "put the monopoly of our currency into the hands of a comparatively small number"—the bankers. When, therefore, there is a shortage in the supply of gold, or a largely-increased demand for it in other countries, gold is "appreciated," and the unfortunate producer of our real "standard of value"—wheat—may at any time have to sell a quarter of wheat for 20s. instead of 40s. If the price could be kept steady at about 30s., as Major Phipson says it might if the volume of the currency were carefully adjusted to the demands upon it, he would have very little to complain of; but obviously this could only be done if the Government had the complete control which a paper currency would give them. As, however, at least 97 per cent. of all payments made in this country now are made by cheques, we have already evolved what is practically a paper, and therefore a valueless, currency; but the difference between a currency composed of unlimited cheques issued by private banks and a currency of cheques issued by Government and strictly limited to the volume of our transactions, each individual, moreover, being under the necessity of keeping strictly within his means (including, of course, his command of credit) is immense. The present system is practically one of book credits; and when I give a tradesman a cheque I am merely making a debit in my banker's books and a credit in his, no coin passing at all.

\* This, of course, is merely a conventional expression, and only means that the "intrinsic value" of all commodities (if Mr. Kitson will allow us to use such a term) must ultimately be measured in food.

Nor, indeed, is there anywhere to be found in cash more than one-tenth of the money represented by this immense volume of cheques. Is this a sound system? It certainly seems a very convenient one; but, at the same time, one cannot help thinking that it confers upon a number of private bankers the privilege of issuing unlimited money without any real security in coin at the back of it. At the same time it seems to show that there is no necessity for a metallic currency, except, perhaps, for petty payments; and if all private banks were abolished and the State monopolized the issue of cheques, it is obvious what a splendid source of revenue we should have. What effect such a revolutionary change would have on our present system of commercial gambling is quite another question, but it could hardly fail to reduce the volume of business, and perhaps, also, *per contra*, the number of bankruptcies which are largely due to the reckless spirit of gambling in trade so often dignified by the name of enterprise, the bankers to whom we trust our money for safe custody being at the bottom of all this commercial gambling, and being actually guilty of using trust money for their own benefit.

It is surely a very curious thing that a serious, and certainly able, writer like Major Phipson should venture to charge the bankers of the country with systematic fraud on the most gigantic scale, and yet that no notice should be taken by anyone. One would have thought that in a great commercial country like this, where trade, after all, depends on honesty and good faith, such a statement would have been met with prompt denial. "Organized robbery," "embezzlement of £655,000,000" are strange expressions to apply to our highly respected and, within the limits of their business, no doubt honourable bankers. It certainly seems worth while to consider whether the position of trustee for all the money deposited with him for safe keeping is compatible with the banker's practice of speculating with his client's deposits. His plea would, no doubt, be that there

is no deception, that his clients are well aware of the universal practice, and tacitly acquiesce in it, knowing that unless the banker makes use of the money he could not afford to keep it without some charge for doing so.

The above was written long before I came across the pamphlet by Mr. Arthur Kitson quoted above, and found that the whole subject had been treated by him in a masterly fashion to which I make no pretensions, but, curiously enough, without any reference to Major Phipson's works, and, of course, on somewhat different lines, though his object is evidently the same—namely, to get at the "science" of civilization (if, indeed, there is such a science); and on one point these two heretical teachers of economics are entirely agreed—namely, that our present system of private banking is the root of all evil in commerce, and that its dependence on coined gold is the direct cause of commercial panics and the constantly recurring bankruptcies amongst our commercial classes. Is it right or necessary that the control of money should give fifty men in New York the power "to stop every wheel on all the railways, close the doors of all our factories, lock every switch in every telegraph line, and shut down every coal and iron mine in the United States?" or that it "should give its possessors absolute power over a whole nation's industries," as Chauncey Depew says it does in America?

Both of these very independent thinkers agree also in the conclusion that the unjust treatment of labour is part of our present system, and Mr. Kitson considers it proved that the prosperity of the United States is largely due to high wages, and that high wages are *not* due to prosperity, as generally assumed. "We undertake," he says, "expensive expeditions to Thibet and other distant lands at the cost of millions of pounds" (and many innocent human lives) "to open trade with a few barbarians, who, after all, have little to offer, whilst here at home are thirteen millions of our own people capable of furnishing a market of enormous extent if only the means and the machinery

are provided. . . . Two-thirds of our annual production is distributed among less than three million persons, whilst some forty millions have to struggle along on the balance."

There is another important point on which Mr. Kitson is substantially in agreement with Major Phipson. They both insist that the "value" of money is *not* due to the metal composing it, and Mr. Kitson points out instances where *irredeemable* paper currency exchanged with gold on perfectly equal terms, and the reason of that is clearly because whatever the law decrees to be money *is* money; so that if "every piece of gold in circulation were displaced by a paper note of nominally the same value and the gold *annihilated*, the purchasing power of money would remain the same." This is remarkable testimony to the soundness of Major Phipson's views.

"Money," indeed, is supposed to be "the tool of industry," but, in fact, nowadays "industry is the slave of finance." Both our authors agree that the present high "value" of gold is due entirely to pernicious monetary laws, and Mr. Kitson actually uses the same language as Major Phipson in describing our present coinage system as "one of the greatest frauds ever perpetrated upon mankind." "Money monopoly," he says, "is a greater evil than" (even) "land monopoly." "Banking and the creation of money" should be *nationalized* (another echo of Major Phipson). "Mr. Chamberlain talks of our antiquated fiscal system, but here is an institution handed down to us by the 'superstitious ignorance of barbarous ages'"—(Major Phipson again!)"—"which warrants all the harsh things he has ever said against free imports." He tells us we have "never had free trade," and he is right because *free trade does not exist*. How can trade be free "when almost everything connected with it is taxed, and the" (so-called) "'tool of trade'—the medium of exchange—is a legally constituted monopoly?"

In such a complicated subject as the currency question,



a concrete example is often more illuminating than all the argument in the world, and Mr. Kitson's account of the procedure of a New York Railway Syndicate when it wanted to buy the shares of one of its rivals is singularly instructive. "All they did," he says "was to 'corner' a large supply of the currency, with the result that prices fell, and the shares were sold at an exceedingly low figure."

Like Mr. Kitson, I have often wondered "why" (mere) "banking has been allowed to grow into a highly profitable system for the benefit of a few professional men and shareholders." Clearly, as he says, "it ought to be an essential branch of every industry . . . worked only for the benefit of trade and commerce, and *not* for the purpose of earning big dividends." "Every penny paid by banking companies in the shape of dividends and commissions is taken out of the pockets of manufacturers, merchants, and wealth-producers generally. . . . The fact is that our present banking system is built upon a foundation so rotten that in times of trouble the stability of the banks can only be maintained by the depression of trade and the bankruptcy of thousands of commercial men."

The simple remedy for all these evils, according to Mr. Kitson, is the repeal of those laws which have made money and credit a monopoly, and the creation of *an instrument of exchange which will be equally available for all forms of wealth*—in other words, Major Phipson's national and intrinsically valueless paper currency, backed by the whole wealth of the State that issues it, and therefore *not* absolutely irredeemable, but only *irredeemable in gold or any other precious metal*.

J. P.

February 8, 1906.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF ORIENTAL CLASSICAL STUDIES.

The Honourable Sir Lewis Tupper, Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University, at the Convocation held on December 23 last, delivered a very useful and eloquent address, in which he made the following observations on the above subject :

"Though I commend the acquisition at first hand of Western learning, I think that new aspirations should not induce the Panjab University to neglect or forget the traditions which from the very first have been associated with our corporate life. Every translation or text-book composed by a Fellow or Reader of the Panjab University which really aids in the diffusion of European science through the medium of the Vernacular languages of the Panjab is an honour to the University itself, tends to fulfil one of its prominent objects, adds to the educational equipment of the Province, and helps to bring the educated men who have not mastered English more into touch with their educated fellow-countrymen in India at large. These advantages have not been overlooked by the Senate and the Syndicate in the general scheme for University improvement, which was framed by the Syndicate, and submitted to Government, in consequence of the offer of the Government of India of an annual grant of 5 lakhs for University and College purposes ; for in that scheme we provided for an allotment of Rs. 5,000 per annum for rewards to authors bringing out translations, editions, and the like, and for the general encouragement of Vernacular literature.

"In the same scheme, too, we proposed an additional annual grant of upwards of Rs. 17,000 for the Oriental College, which, we considered, should have a whole-time Principal. To my mind the study of the Oriental Classics is a matter of greater and deeper import than the translation of Western books into the Vernacular. The principles of art are universal ; their application is as various

as the historic ages and the physical surroundings of man. No cultivated age, no civilized country has the monopoly of the beauties of art. What Greek and Latin are to Europe, that Persian and Arabic and Sanskrit are to Southern and Western Asia. A classic style means art in literature alike in the East and in the West. Inherited tastes and sympathies will make different forms of literary art more acceptable in different Continents; but a University without the classics is a thing we need not contemplate in India. It is true that in the West the rising orb of science looms already large above the intellectual horizon; but even there the light of classical literature will not die out in our time; and were it ever quenched there would be a loss to art—far worse if it were repeated here, because while French and German and English literatures may rank with the literatures of Greece and Rome, there is as yet, so far at least as my imperfect knowledge permits me to say, no modern Vernacular literature in India that can rank with Persian and Arabic and Sanskrit.

"Apart from æsthetic reasons for Oriental classical studies there are reasons which I do not hesitate to call spiritual. There is a boundless empyrean to which the spirit of man is sometimes able to soar—leaving below for some brief space the innumerable vexations, the wearing anxieties, the sordid cares, the bitter griefs of everyday existence, and coming into touch with what is, or seems to him to be, infinity. If there is no monopoly in the beauties of art still more is there no monopoly in the possibilities of spiritual exaltation. The winged passages to that immeasurable height are as wide as interstellar space, and as lofty as the universe. It is not the Christian Church alone that can say with deep sincerity, 'Lift up your hearts.' So long as you find in the books of your religions the means of that spiritual elevation for which piety is ever athirst, the study of those books should be recognised as amongst your most precious possessions.

"The general scheme for University improvement which

I mentioned just now provides for wants which have long been felt, but owes its immediate origin to the proceedings of the Indian Universities Commission, and to the belief that those Universities were to receive generous financial aid from the Government of India. It is a principle of the scheme to emphasize the fact that we are a teaching institution. Grants are proposed for the Oriental and Law College buildings to complete the quadrangle of which this hall forms one side; for Oriental and Law College boarding-houses; for a well-equipped University library; for the establishment necessary to make all these institutions effective; for the rewards to authors; and for public lectures, by which I hope we may prove able to make a small and modest beginning of the professorial work which is so pre-eminent and valuable in English Universities."

#### BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA PROTECTORATE.\*

The revenue of this Protectorate for 1904-1905 was approximately £67,537; the expenditure £123,000. Trade conditions have improved due to the extension of cotton cultivation and the general developments in agriculture, which consists of coffee, cotton, chillies, rice, rubber, tea, fibres, afforestation.

The general condition of Native affairs has been satisfactory. Native workmen are now willing to engage for considerable periods. A sign of the times is the opening up of small retail stores by enterprising natives in competition on a small scale with the banyan, as the local Indian trader is called. Markets for native produce are being established at Zomba and Blantyre with a fair amount of success. A market building is in course of erection at Zomba. Education is carried on chiefly by missionary societies. The schools are within the reach of all natives who desire it. There is hardly a village in the

\* Report for 1904-5 presented to Parliament, November, 1905, No. 472.

Protectorate which cannot produce at least two or three scholars able to read and write, and the younger generation now recognise that positions of trust are easily obtained through education, bringing higher pay and greater comfort, and hence forming an incentive to learn. All the subordinate Government posts, as clerks, interpreters, typists, telegraphists, and mechanics, are filled by educated natives, as are also many posts of trust in the agencies of the many trading companies. Artizans are trained in the industrial schools attached to the missions, where carpentering, printing, bookbinding, and other trades are taught, much to the benefit of local industries generally, the cost of European artizans being prohibited. There are thirteen native hospitals, with sixteen dispensaries, maintained by the various societies. Treatment is free, but natives who can afford are expected to pay a small contribution.

Various ordinances of legislation have been published, surveys have been made, and various roads constructed.

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#### UGANDA PROTECTORATE.\*

The estimated revenue for the year 1904-1905 was £42,985; the actual revenue was £59,707. The estimated expenditure was £184,463; the actual expenditure was £173,038.

Uganda being an inland Protectorate, its trade really forms part of the trade of East Africa, and figures in the general customs returns of that Protectorate. The imports by sea come exclusively from East Africa, and reach Uganda according to local requirements and demand through firms in Mombasa. Similarly, the exports are consigned to that port. The annual value of the trade proper of the Protectorate has risen from £62,538 in 1902-1903 to £149,737 in 1904-1905; the exports from

\* Colonial Reports, No. 467, presented to Parliament, October, 1905.

£32,179 to £67,375. The principal articles of import are beads, cement, cigars and tobacco, boots and shoes, books and printed matters, corrugated iron, cotton goods, firearms, flour, machinery, and other miscellaneous articles, also petroleum, rice, salt, sugar, timber, tools, wearing apparel, wines, spirits, and beer, wire, etc. The principal exports are chillies, coffee, cotton, fibres, cattle, *ghee*, hides and skins, ivory, native tools, rubber, *sim-sim*, and ground nuts.

Various ordinances have been passed relating to registration of documents, births, deaths, and marriages, customs, etc.

Education is promoted chiefly by missions. Hospitals and dispensaries are being built, and various departments for administering justice are being established. Generally, the chiefs and people continue to advance in material and social well-being.

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#### FEDERATED MALAY STATES.\*

The High Commissioner, Sir John Anderson, reports that there has been continuous progress and prosperity in the various States. "Not only have law and order been firmly established throughout the whole area, but, so far, at any rate, as the three Western States are concerned, they are better provided with roads and railways, public buildings, and all the usual adjuncts of administration, and comforts and amenities of civilization than any of the Crown Colonies in the Empire. The construction and maintenance of roads and railways through a tropical country are always expensive and difficult, and the fact that on an average over twenty-two miles a year have been added to railways, and more than double that length to roads, entirely from revenue, shows the extraordinary natural wealth of the States."

In reference to Kuantan, he says that, if the harbour, which is only capable at certain states of the tide for small

\* Straits Settlements Reports to Parliament, November, 1905.



steamers, "could be improved at a reasonable cost, there can be no doubt that it would lead to a great development of the neighbouring part of Pahang, which is very rich, not only in minerals, but also in valuable timber. A detailed survey and observations of tides and currents have been made, and plans have been submitted for the advice of Messrs. Corde, Son, and Matthews." "Two new trunk roads into Pahang are now being rapidly pushed forward, one from Kuala Lunpor, by the Ginting Pass, and the other from Kuala Pilah." And it is hoped "ultimately to continue the latter across the Pahang River to Kuantan, and open up the heart of the country, which is at present practically unknown." "A trial survey for a railway from the Sungei Gemas, where the main line crosses the Johore border to Kuala Kuantan, has now been made, but it is not proposed to proceed with the construction until the results of the road construction now in hand have shown whether the expenditure would be justifiable. A trunk road through what is known as the New Territory, in Upper Perak, has also been undertaken, and will soon be completed, opening up what is believed to be a good agricultural as well as mining country."

In the course of Sir John Anderson's tour through the States he observes: "I received numerous addresses from the inhabitants of all the different races, in which they expressed their appreciation of the benefits which had been conferred upon the country by the British Administration."

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LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE, LEYTON, LONDON, E.

Livingstone College was founded rather more than twelve years ago. Its object is to give some medical training to those whose mission is to go to Africa and the East in unhealthy climates and surroundings. Hence, a band of men and women thus trained have saved the lives of many native Europeans. The Principal, Dr. Harford, will be pleased to send full particulars to any who will

write to him at Livingstone College, Leyton, E., and to receive contributions for so deserving an object.

We observed in our last issue that its publication "*Climate*" has now been incorporated with the *Journal of Tropical Medicine*, which will issue four numbers annually specially suited to the readers of *Climate*. The Principal is making a special offer of bound volumes of *Climate* at reduced prices. These volumes contain information concerning climate and disease in tropical and other climates, which cannot be obtained elsewhere, and Dr. Harford will be pleased to send full particulars concerning his offer to any who will apply to him at Livingstone College.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's former Births.*  
*Translated from the Pali by various hands under the*  
*editorship of* PROFESSOR E. B. COWELL. *Vol. V.*  
*Translated by* H. T. FRANCIS, M.A., *sometime Fellow of*  
*Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.* CAMBRIDGE  
 UNIVERSITY PRESS, LONDON, 1905.

The "Guild of Translators" formed by the late Professor Cowell to render into English the edition of the Pali Jātaka Book, completed in six volumes by the great Danish scholar, Professor V. Fausböll, are now within measurable distance of their goal. But, as Mr. Francis remarks in his introduction to the volume now before us, Professor Cowell, who planned this literary undertaking, and Mr. Neil, who collaborated with Mr. Francis in the translation of the third volume, have been removed by death during the progress of the work. The sixth and last volume of the translation, left unfinished by Professor Cowell, is now in the hands of Dr. Rouse, the translator of the fourth volume. The series was auspicated by Mr. Chalmers, who undertook the first volume. While we cannot help admiring the energy and perseverance of these four disciples of the great Cambridge master, we should not leave out of sight the fact that Professor Rhys Davids published, in 1880, a version of the first forty Jātakas and the Nidānakathā with a most valuable introduction and notes.

Owing to the peculiar arrangement of the stories in the Jātaka Book, which are classified according to the number of verses that they contain, the task of the translators increases in difficulty as it progresses. Mr. Francis deprecates too severe a criticism of his metrical versions, on the ground that the originals are in many cases equally "prosaic and commonplace." His verses seem to us to be very spirited considering their closeness to the originals. As a

general rule, translators of Oriental poetry consider themselves privileged by the exigencies of rhyme in departing very widely from the text before them. This genial aberration, no doubt, renders their versions more acceptable to the British public. But the system which Mr. Francis has followed is, in our opinion, preferable.

The chief interest of the Jātaka Book is generally supposed to lie in the fact that it is the oldest collection of folk-lore stories in existence, and that it gives a faithful picture of the manners and customs of ancient India in the centuries immediately preceding our era.

It may be safely asserted that folk-lorists will find in the present volume many tales which will remind them of those found in other collections. Many parallels are pointed out by Mr. Francis. For instance, on p. 141 he reminds us that the Kusa-Jātaka may be linked with the European variants of the tale of "Beauty and the Beast," and refers to the Tibetan tales of the well-known folk-lorist Professor Ralston, Introduction, p. xxxvii, and pp. 21-28, and Kusa-Jākaya, a Buddhistic legend, rendered from the Sinhalese into English verse by Thomas Steele. Professor Ralston did not fail to observe the resemblance in this story to that of Cupid and Psyche, in that the wife is forbidden to look upon her husband. One of the extraordinary feats of archery performed in the Sarabhangā Jātaka reminds Mr. Francis of a feat of the archer Locksley (Robin Hood) in "Ivanhoe." Archers in folk-lore and legend, from the hero of the Asadrīsa Jātaka to Adam Bell, perform exploits which seem incredible to degenerate men of modern days. Numerous parallels will no doubt occur to our readers. There is a curious incident in the Sambhava-Jātaka, No. 515, which has its parallels in European folk-lore. An enquirer is sent to a man named Vidhura, who refers him to his son Bhadrakāra, and by him he is sent on to his younger brother, Sanjaya, who refers him to a still younger brother, Sambhava, who solves the problem. In the same way, in Gonzenbach's "*Sicilianische Märchen*," p. 86, an

inquiring Prince is sent by one "Einsiedler" to his brother, and this brother sends him to an older brother, and he again to a still older one, who is described as *steinalt*. In Thorpe's "Yuletide Stories," p. 158, the youth, who is in quest of the Beautiful Palace, East of the Sun and North of the Earth, is sent by an old woman to her old sister, who refers her to a still older sister. Other parallels might be adduced from the folk-lore of Bohemia, Russia, Scandinavia, and Italy. The same incident is found in a later Indian work, the "Kathā Sarit Sāgara," in which will also be found a striking parallel to the Mahākapi Jātaka, p. 38. A man is hauled out of a pit by a monkey, and he tries to murder his benefactor while asleep. The good monkey nevertheless shows him, with due precautions against treachery, the way out of the wood. In the Kathā Sarit Sāgara a lion asks a bear to throw down from a tree a sleeping prince, to whom he had promised protection. The bear refuses, but when the bear was asleep the prince made an effort to throw him down, but did not succeed, and was very justly punished with madness. This Jātaka is found in the Northern Buddhist collection, called "Jātaka-mālā," edited by Professor Kern.

Of man-eating ogres there is no lack in the volume under notice. The most interesting, perhaps, is the cannibal king, described in No. 537, who had been a *yakkha* in a former birth. But in the story of the ogre, on p. 13, there is an incident which may perhaps remind us of the story of Damon and Pytheas (or Phintias) versified by Schiller. A king has been captured by an ogre, and though perfectly willing to be devoured, he is troubled by the thought of an unfulfilled duty. He explains the matter in the following stanza:

"A promise once I to a brahmin made;  
That promise still is due, that debt unpaid:  
The vow fulfilled, to-morrow's dawn shall see  
My honour saved, and my return to thee."

On the King's return to his palace, the Prince obtains permission to take his father's place. However, the ogre,

after the manner of Indian ogres, is so much impressed by his courage and self-sacrifice, that he decides not to eat him. But the story does not end there. The Prince discovers that the ogre is not a real ogre by the following signs: "The eyes of ogres are red, and do not wink; they cast no shadow, and are free from all fear. This is no ogre; it is a man." (It may be observed that the notion, that the eyes of supernatural beings do not wink, is found in many Indian books, and in the "*Æthiopica*" of Heliodorus. That such beings do not cast a shadow is also a fancy common to India and Europe.) Eventually the Prince discovers that the supposed ogre is his uncle, his father's elder brother, who has taken to ogreish ways, owing to his having been stolen and nourished by an ogress, and a family reconciliation takes place. Among other well-known Indian stories, this volume contains the *Ummadanti-Jātaka*, three versions of which, all ending unhappily, are found in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*. For another version Mr. Francis refers us to the *Jātaka-Mālā*. His knowledge of Northern and Southern Buddhism has enabled him to compare many cognate legends, and to throw light upon many Buddhist doctrines and practices, and also to explain many difficult expressions. Owing, no doubt, to the necessity of economizing space, which weighed so heavily on Professor Fausbøll, he has had occasionally to be content with a brief reference to the works of other scholars. For instance, in speaking of the *Chaddanta-Jātaka* he remarks, "In the *Journal Asiatique* for 1895, tom. v., N.S., will be found a careful study by M. L. Feer, of the *Chaddanta-Jātaka*, based on a comparison of five different versions—two Pali, one Sanskrit, one Chinese." Many such notes, most valuable to the specialist, will be found scattered through this volume. It is, perhaps, worth while to remark that this *Jātaka* will be found represented in Cunningham's "*Stupa of Bharhut*," Plate XXVI. Plate XLVIII. in the same volume illustrates an incident described on p. 92 of Mr. Francis' translation, where a king,



finding a gray hair on his head, determines to embrace an ascetic life. This incident is a commonplace in Indian fiction, and is even found in a well-known Muhammadan tale.

To inquirers, who take interest in the manners and customs of ancient India, this volume will present many attractions. Jātaka, No. 520, contains an account of a king, who, after a fashion frequently followed in India, and not, perhaps, altogether unknown in Europe, roams about incognito with his chaplain, to hear what his subjects think of him. As a rule, in Indian stories, such royal listeners hear no good of themselves, as the Indian public in ancient times was wont to impute all evils to the sins of its rulers. Accordingly, King Pañcāla, the hero of the tale above referred to, hears himself blamed by an old woman because her two daughters have not been married; by an old man because a thorn runs into his foot; by a milkman because his cow kicks him and upsets him, milk and all; and by a frog in a dry tank, because he and his brethren are devoured by crows. The way in which these misfortunes are connected in the story with neglect of duty on the part of the Sovereign is certainly very ingenious. Among customs, generally considered to be opposed to Buddhism, mentioned in these tales is that of drinking intoxicating liquors. The women who, under the influence of strong drink, ventured into the presence of the Buddha, were sternly rebuked by him, and it is satisfactory to find that they were immediately "established in the fruition of the First Path."

The unbecoming conduct of these women leads the Master to give an account of the discovery of strong drink, which is very curious. According to him it was originally generated in the hollow of a tree, which was filled with water. "Round about it grew two myrobalan plants and a pepper shrub; and the ripe fruits from these, when they were cut down, fell into the hole. Not far from this tree was some self-sown paddy. The parrots would pluck the heads of rice and eat them, perched on this tree. And

while they were eating, the paddy and the husked rice fell there. So the water, fermenting through the sun's heat, assumed a blood-red colour. In the hot season flocks of birds, being thirsty, drank of it, and becoming intoxicated, fell down at the foot of the tree, and after sleeping awhile, flew away, chirping merrily. And the same thing happened in the case of wild dogs, monkeys, and other creatures." A forester observing this, imitated the birds and animals, and taught the bad practice to an ascetic. The next step was that the votaries of this new habit took to imitating themselves the process of nature, and manufactured intoxicating liquor largely. Eventually the King of Sāvatti took to the practice of drinking spirits, and though he himself renounced it when admonished by the god Sakka, we read that "the drinking of strong drink gradually developed in India." It is clear that the Jātaka book describes ancient India as it actually was, and not as, according to Buddhist ideas, it ought to have been. The practice of indulging in animal food, which the offenders in this tale combined with their Bacchanalian practices, and which appears in a somewhat repulsive form on p. 121 in the case of a hermit who eats the flesh of a monkey given to him by the inhabitants of a frontier village, may perhaps be excused by the example of the Buddha himself, whose death was, according to Professor Rhys Davids, due "to a meal of rice and young pork." The above instances are sufficient to show that the Jātaka Book gives a picture of many sides of Indian life in the centuries which preceded our era.

The information which it furnishes with regard to the social organization of the Indian people in these ancient times has been made the subject of a special treatise by Dr. Fick, whose book is referred to by Mr. Francis.

It remains to state that Mr. Francis' volume is furnished with an "index of subject matters," and an "index of names and Pali words," which considerably enhance its value.—C. H. T.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, FETTER LANE,  
LONDON, E.C.

2. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate—Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia, from the Moslem Conquest to the time of Timur* (Cambridge Geographical Series), by G. LE STRANGE. This scholarly work is the sequel to the author's "Baghdād under the Abbasid Caliphate," and the care and labour with which it is compiled merits all praise. Arabia is omitted from the present volume, though it was usually under the empire of the Abbasids, and the author hopes that some other scholar will finish his great work by describing the historical geography of that country, the African kingdoms, and the western Caliphate of Spain. Mr. Le Strange divides his subject into the provinces of 'Irāk, or Babylonia, of which the capital was Baghdad, Jaztrah which embraced Mosul, the Upper Euphrates; Rûm or Asia Minor including Trebezond, Aydin, Ephesus, and Smyrna, Adharbâyjan, Gilân, and the North-Western provinces, among which were Gurjistân or Georgia and Armenia, Jibâl or 'Irāk 'Ajam, the Greek Media, Khuzistan, Fars, Kirmân, the Great Desert, and Makrân, Sijistan, Kûhistan, Kûmis, Tabaristan, and Jurjân, Khurâsân, the Oxus, Khwârizm, Sughd and Samarkand, to which Bukhârâ was attached, and the Jaxartes provinces. This wide range is copiously illustrated with maps, and the author has not only contrived to digest most of what the early Moslem travellers have to say on the subject of the geography, topography, and trade routes of this enormous district, but also to make his book interesting in no small degree. The difficulty in doing this must have been very great, as he relies upon the writings of twenty-four Moslem writers of geography ranging from Ibn Khurdâbih (A.D. 864) to Abu-l-Ghazi (A.D. 1604), and gives many quotations from their works, while at the same time pointing out that their statements may not always have been correct on every point. To Eastern historians this book will be very welcome.

and valuable. They will find from the copious index references to statements on topography ready to their hand, and will be able easily to verify the geographer's descriptions of towns, curious scraps of local information, and sites of battles, from the original sources. We ourselves are glad to be able to say that we owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Le Strange for having placed his erudite book before us.—A. F. S.

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD, 1906.

3. *A Tamil Prose Reader*, by the REV. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., Balliol College, Oxford. This volume forms Part V. of the well-known Handbook, in connection with which it must be used, and to which it accordingly gives copious references. Dr. Pope does not confine himself to the features usual in books of the kind, and represented here by easy stories, classical prose, and selections from the *Pañcha-Tanthiram* for higher proficiency students. He devotes a whole chapter to reports and other official documents of the class with which Indian civil servants have constantly to deal, and a further one to petitions and official correspondence, explaining as he goes along all that is likely to cause any difficulty, as, for instance, the Hindustani words clothed in Tamil garb by Mohammedan subordinates. He also gives specimens, accompanying them by the correct version, and pointing out the chief differences—in footnotes—of the language spoken by the illiterate majority, and of the misspelled and ungrammatical letters one often has to decipher. His reproductions of the latter bring into relief such things as the insertion of the *y* in *yeluthi* for *eluthi*, and the general neglect of *pulli* and punctuation, or the substitution of one form of consonant for another. All this is palpably of the greatest use, so far as it goes; but the person not used to reading Tamil letters has another serious difficulty to contend with, and it is to be hoped Dr. Pope will give him a helping hand here too, by means of an appendix to his next edition. We all

know how hard it is to read certain handwriting in our own language, and it is naturally far more so when the characters are foreign. A few pages at the end of the book, giving facsimiles of Tamil letters, with the printed version under each word, and any notes Dr. Pope may think necessary, would form an invaluable addition to an already valuable guide.—C.

CATHOLIC MISSION PRESS, SHANGHAI.

4. *Géographie de l'Empire de Chine (Cours Supérieur)*, by Rev. L. RICHARD, S.J. (Hia Chī-shī). This work of 600 pages ought, as was originally intended, properly to have been corrected and finished by Father St. Le Gall, whose extraordinarily accurate knowledge of the Chinese language and manners particularly fitted him for the task. A *Cours Inférieur*, being an "extract" from, or a *précis* of, the excellent work now under review, has a separate existence, and the original idea was to provide a class-book for the Jesuit schools in France, or at least for French classes; but it has been found necessary to recast the multifarious knowledge in such a way that Chinese and other foreigners, not too familiar with the niceties of French literary discourse, may be able to utilize the book easily too. Hence specially great pains have been taken with the co-ordination and convenient arrangement of matter. Recourse has been had to every author, no matter what his country, his religion, or his irreligion (*e.g.*, the brothers Réclus), who could throw light on any geographical subject, whether from a political, commercial, religious, or physical point of view; and, in fact, physical geography is the chief feature of this admirable publication, which, besides its own numerous charts, maps, and plans, is provided with an outside pocket, containing an excellent up-to-date Chinese-French map of China, and a list of all the commissioned officers in the Empire, with their towns. Book I., with seven sections and twenty chapters, treats of the eighteen provinces, their features, means of communication, fauna, flora, population,

productions, hydrography, climate, etc. Book II., in six chapters, treats in the same way of Manchuria, Mongolia, Turkestan, Tibet, Corea, and Formosa (though this last is—practically these two last are—now Japanese). At the end of each chapter is given a list of authorities that may be consulted by any close student who may desire specialist information; but, as a matter of fact, everything reasonably desired, and in any way connected with the economy of the Chinese State, may be found in this single volume itself, so far at least as “outsiders” are concerned. Anyone who desires to write on Chinese subjects may now safely steer himself clear of ridiculous error, if he will only consult Père Richard’s handy little volume, which (a most unusual and welcome thing in French books) is, moreover, provided with a very complete index.—E. H. PARKER.

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T. AND T. CLARK; 38, GEORGE STREET, EDINBURGH,  
1905.

5. *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, PAUL DEUSSEN, PH.D., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Kiel. Authorized English translation by Rev. A. S. GEDEN, M.A., tutor in Old-Testament languages, and literature, and classics, Wesleyan College, Richmond. The best exposition of the Upanishads that has hitherto appeared in the English language was published by Trübner more than a quarter of a century ago, and it is now in more respects than one out-of-date. At the present moment no adequate exposition of their philosophy and contents is extant in our language. The present translation of the German exposition is described on the title-page as “authorized,” because it is put forth with the sanction of Dr. Deussen. Besides a very elaborate table of contents at the beginning of the volume, there is at the end an index of names and matters, followed by a very full index of every reference made in the course of the work to the Sanskrit original—all this in addition to countless and minute notes and references at



the foot of the pages throughout the volume. Altogether, the mechanical structure of the work and the arrangement of the subject-matter are such as to meet the requirements of the industrious and researchful student.

The study of the systems thought out by the ancient Indian sages has a humbling lesson for us all in these enlightened days. The more these systems are known, the more is the thought borne in upon us that "that there is nothing new under the sun"—that there is no philosophy evolved from the minds of modern men which was not also evolved from the minds of those quiet, gentle-spirited, and devout ascetics who wandered about in the umbrageous jungles and forests of Asia in unknown ages in the past. Nor is there anything of a worldly, work-a-day, wage-earning nature in their thinkings. They had no passion for personal ease or aggrandizement, no desire for fame or notoriety; no lust of wealth. They, as nearly as possible, practised the thing they preached—unearthliness, detachment, other-worldliness. In all that is essentially characteristic of an original philosopher, the men whose excogitations are enshrined in the Vedas and the Upanishads left us an example which we may admire—at a distance—but to which, by the very conditions of our modern existence, we may not hope to attain. In the more than 400 pages of this admirably-printed octavo volume, there will be found abundant material for profitable and stimulating thought, as well for the general inquirer as for the more technical student of the wisdom of the ancient Aryans.—B.

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HODDER AND STOUGHTON; PATERNOSTER ROW,  
LONDON.

6. *With the Abyssinians in Somaliland*, by MAJOR J. WILLES JENNINGS, D.S.O., R.A.M.C., and CHRISTOPHER ADDISON, M.D., with a preface by COLONEL A. N. ROCHFORD, C.B. In 1902-1903 Brigadier-General H.W. Manning commanded an expedition in Somaliland against the "Mad Mullah," whose

*Jehad* was causing trouble not only to the Abyssinians but to the British Protectorate, and associated with his forces were 5,000 Abyssinians provided by the Emperor Menelik under the command of Fituarari Gabri, along with Colonel A. N. Rochfort. Though these made some headway they were not able to bring the redoubtable Mullah to terms, and larger operations were planned in 1903-1904 under Lieutenant-General Sir C. C. Egerton. Colonel Rochfort was now provided with a small staff, and two British medical officers, of whom Major Jennings was one, were sent out at the request of the Emperor Menelik. This well-illustrated book, which was obviously written on the march, and has been arranged for publication by Dr. Addison, deals with Major Jennings's experiences, and is a pleasant narrative of travel from Aden into Somaliland with the Abyssinian force. There is a description of Djibouti, the European part of which is "a clean smart little town," and thence the expedition proceeded inland, meeting Ras Mukunna at Harrar, a town of which it is said "inside the walls it is a rookery," with streets like "Scotch burns run dry," which was conquered with the Galla country by Abyssinia in 1887. There is an interesting account of the country round Harrar and the fauna it contained, amongst which are the notable, if objectionable, "stink ants." Mr. Wakeman joined the party at Jigjiga, and the writer expresses deep indebtedness to him for much information about the Abyssinians, gleaned through his knowledge of Amharic and Arabic. The Somalis, the author thinks, contrast in many respects favourably with the Abyssinians; they are cleaner, and, as Mohammedans, teetotallers. We are given interesting chapters upon the Abyssinian customs. The soldiers are praised for their endurance, and there is a curious account of their *lebashai*, or thief-catcher.

Though the Abyssinians profess Christianity, the marriage is said to be slight, ceremonial or sacramental marriage is rare, and can be dissolved only by the Abouna, while

concubinage is prevalent. Circumcision precedes baptism, which shows an interesting relic of the pre-Christian religion. We do not know what to make of the author's remarks, "Attendance at church is very regular; but most persons appear to go either as a matter of course, or because it is the fashion. There can hardly be said, however, to be much worship," as the custom for similar reasons is sometimes, perhaps, known nearer home. More interesting is his account of the Abyssinia fasts, feasts, and medical practices, and his remarks on the Somalis and the outcast tribe of the Midgans. Accounts of *Shikar*, illustrated by photographs, also occur in the narrative, and these will, with the notes of flora and fauna throughout the book, be of great interest to sportsmen and naturalists.—A. F. S.

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LONGMAN AND CO.; 39, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C., 1905.

7.—*Shinto: the Way of the Gods*, by W. G. ASTON, C.M.G., D.LIT. This is a concise and thorough treatise on the oldest religious system of Japan. It would be hard to mention any item in reference to Shintoism that has been overlooked. The 377 pages are devoted to minute investigation of the subject, while the clear and careful method in which the information is imparted stamps this, like all Mr. Aston's preceding works, with a value that is indisputable.

"The Way of the Gods" is an analytical glossary of the Kami cult, with its hierarchy of gods and goddesses, whose origin is wonderfully diversified, from the hero who has influenced national events, to the animal life that plagues humanity; from the storm-god to the deity who presides over purity of wells, or the safety of gate-posts. This Kami cult existed before the oldest available book was written in Japan. It swayed the hearts of the people from time immemorial, and drew them with a force gentle but resistless. Its dogmas have been received throughout the length of the Empire. One generation after another has

led lives of discipline and self-renunciation by means of its slender tenure. Events of history, particularly since the last conflict, have brought to our notice this dreamy, shadowy creed, with its ceremonials full of strange impressiveness, so diverse in their fulfilment to any other ritual. The author describes weird rites that are participated in, both during the lifetime of mortals as well as at their burial, and explains the progressive theory by means of which men attain the rank of deified ancestors, to be remembered before the family shrine or the wayside cemetery. "Pure" Shinto may remain for a time, but there is a tendency for it to wane before the more florid faith of Buddhism, or the unrest of the soul seeking comfort from new and untried sources altogether.

Mr. Aston's work will be found sufficiently satisfying to the student bent on investigating the subject from a strictly scientific standpoint, while the dogmas are too startling to be entirely passed over by the novice should curiosity lead to a chance acquaintance. This book provides a mine of knowledge and a fund of explanatory research conscientiously entered upon and discussed.—S.

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LUZAC AND CO.; GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, 1905.

8. Part I. of the *Tadhkiratu 'L-Awliyá* ("Memoirs of the Saints") of Muhammad ibn Ibráhím Farídu' DDin 'Attár, edited in the original Persian, with preface, indices, and variants, by REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, M.A., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge; with a critical introduction by MÍRZÁ MUHAMMAD B. 'ABDÚŠ 'L-WAHHÁB-I QAZWÍNÍ. This well-printed volume forms a part of vol. iii. of the Persian Historical Texts. "It is the oldest work of the kind in Persian, and that, although deficient in dates and biographical details of any sort, it contains a large amount of material which is not to be found in the later biographies, or, so far as I know (says the editor) anywhere else. Its value as a source for the history of

Sufism can hardly be over-estimated. Compared with Jâmi's 'Nafahātu 'L-Uns' it has this immense advantage, that its articles, being much fewer in number, are far more exhaustive; where Jâmi gives only a rapid sketch 'Attâr draws a full-length picture." The work is "an excellent example of early Persian prose, plain, terse, and dignified." Six manuscripts have been used in preparing this volume. These manuscripts are described in detail, and very valuable variants are noted. There is also a short, but very interesting notice of the author, and the motives which led him to compile his "Memoirs of the Saints."

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MACMILLAN AND CO.; NEW YORK AND LONDON.

9. *Colonial Administration*, by PAUL S. REINSCH, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. This volume forms part of "The Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology," edited by R. T. ELY, PH.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy in the same University. It contains a comparative study of the methods of colonial administration by the Government of various countries, with the view of solving problems which Colonial Governments have to face, in alien countries. A part of the first chapter was read by the author at the International Congress of Arts and Sciences at St. Louis, and a part of the second chapter was published in the *American Journal of Sociology*. There is a valuable and discriminating introduction on general principles by which Colonial Governments ought to be guided in the numerous diversities of native populations, their habits and customs. The chief topics discussed are—education and general social improvements, finance, currency, banking and credit, commerce, communication, agriculture and other industries; questions arising from land and labour, and defence and police. Each chapter on all these important subjects contains references to official publications, treaties, and articles. There is an excellent index. The author concludes that

"it will be wise for the Colonial legislator not to attempt too much, not to have too ambitious a programme. But if rightly planned, the economic reforms which it is in his power to effect with success may, like the massive architecture of a cathedral crypt, in time upbear an edifice which will answer larger purposes than those of mere economic welfare and progress."

10. *The Reshaping of the Far East*, by B. L. PUTNAM WEALE, 2 vols. In two sumptuous volumes, profusely illustrated, the author of "Manchu and Muscovite" proceeds to give us his somewhat dogmatic opinion of the political position in the Far East before June, 1905. After a historical prologue upon the march of recent events in China and Japan, he describes in very graphic language his travels up the Yangtze to Hankow, and then to Peking. His observations of the country he saw are always trenchant, and his descriptions of the scenery and geography happy. A good chapter on "Trunk Railways as Political Weapons" shows the haste, jobbery, and inefficiency of the railway syndicates. The writer is particularly severe upon the Belgians controlling the Hankow-Peking line, who are themselves, owing to their constitution, entirely in the hands of the natives. Yet, nevertheless, he prophesies a great future for railways in a populous country like China. Peking "under the foreign heel" is next considered, and we are shown how the Chinese have cause to detest the garrisons and fortifications of the Legations, which have been held to be necessary since 1900. "The Legations," says the author, "watch the Chinese Government, and so does Dr. Morrison watch the Legations, which is the finest thing of all." And it is stated that his word is still more powerful than that of the British Minister. It is insisted, however, that China, in spite of the Manchu rule, is arming to, and for, some purpose. The Customs Service is well described, and the career of Sir Robert Hart, which has included great financial and diplomatic successes during the fifty-one years which it has occupied,



is narrated. The position of the great Viceroy, Yuan Shih-Kai, comes next under review, and it is stated that, in spite of all temptations, he is "pro-Chinese and pro-nothing else" in his sympathies. We are told of the great expenditure and partial success of the German settlement in Kiaochow, and the author prophesies that in a few years another naval base near Swatow will be demanded by the Germans, who then, linked by their railways, will be able to rule a large portion of Northern, Central, and Southern China; and their push and energy in Shantung, which has had a certain amount of success, is described at length by him. There is a bombastic account of Japan in war-time which we could have spared, but it is followed by a good chapter upon the causes which led to the Russo-Japanese War. We are told later of the success of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, though it is carefully pointed out that, owing to possible extensions and complications, this may be only temporary, and that it has alienated Britain from the rest of the European nations in the East. A large part of the later portion of the book deals with Korea. It is rightly indicated that the West forgets that Japanese influence there is no new thing by any means, having begun—or, at least, become prominent—under the Empress Jingo, and a clever sketch is given of the way Russian "interests" were created. The career of Mr. McLeavy Brown of the Korean Customs is told, and it is shown that the chief interests (during the war) in Korea, outside the Russian and Japanese spheres, were those of America and Britain. The work of the American Mission Schools is duly praised, and there are many well-written accounts of the great war, and also of its great mistakes, upon which the author, like most war correspondents, waxes eloquent. Chapters full of interest follow upon the rising Chinese Press, and upon American Relations, The difficult questions of Chinese Religion, The Schemes of the French and Belgians, and some dogmatic conclusions and suggestions, with valuable appendices of documents. We have read this book with pleasure, but we cannot promise that

its success will be as great as the writer's first work, or that, like it (as the author claims), every word will be "verified by the march of events," though we hope they may.—A. F. S.

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GEORGE NEWNES, LIMITED, LONDON.

11. *The Chinese at Home*, by ÉMILE BARD. Adapted from the French by H. TWITCHELL. This is a nicely printed and tastefully got up book of the "red-fish which walks backwards" type—that is, it conveys a not inaccurate general idea to the average reader who knows nothing exact or first-hand about China, but is quite worthless for purposes of scientific or careful study. "Adapted" is a good word, for there is not the faintest trace of translation or Gallicism throughout; possibly it has been "adapted" out of all recognition. The photographs are excellent, and all of them present scenes quite familiar to the writer of these lines, who, in fact, actually lived for one month in the noble temple facing p. 240. Having paid the book these frank compliments, we feel bound to add that it is full (almost from the very first word (*fatte*, for *fatto* twice over) of misspellings, misprints, and, what is infinitely worse, of gross misstatements. For instance, p. vi, "Abbé Hue wrote in 1862, etc." He died in 1860, and wrote the words mentioned about 1850. "Prostrations which the missionaries have never refused (!) to perform" (p. 3). On p. 33, "many farmers are engaged in sheep-raising"; in few parts of China known to traders will sheep live at all; foreigners who want mutton to eat have to get live sheep from Calcutta, or mutton in a frozen state from Mongolia. "Sons wear mourning for her [the mother] for three *months*" (should be "years," p. 41). "King of the city of Ten-yen . . . under Emperor Ten-tsung, who died in 783," for "Prince of Fên-yang . . . under Emperor Têh-tsung, who abdicated in 805" (pp. 70, 71). On p. 84 the massacre of Tientsin is put down to the year 1878 instead of (as correctly on p. 122) 1870, and it is totally untrue that "at

that time the French had enough troops in the province to reduce the city to ashes"; they had not a single soldier in all China. Nor (same page) had the Boxer rebellion of 1900 "been brewing for a century," or, if it had, then it had brewed for fifty centuries. The Emperor Kwang-sü (p. 110) is the *cousin*, not the nephew, of his predecessor. A "record" sentence, indeed, on p. 125: "It was begun in 1100 A.D. by the famous Ho Ti of the Tsin dynasty, whose victorious troops penetrated as far as Judea, under the leadership of the great general Pan-Chao." It was *before* 100 A.D.; *Han* dynasty (nearly 200 years before the Tsin dynasty); Pan-Ch'ao *never* got beyond the Cabul region; *no* Chinese soldier ever at any time reached Judea; and Pan-Ch'ao's messenger was *afraid* to go beyond the Euphrates! After all, what are 1,000 years in the history of China? The four chapters on "Money," "Merchants," "Products," "Foreign Treaties" are not at all bad, but the "Outline of Nation's History" is ludicrous in the extreme; for instance (p. 233), "Chinese annals mention the invasion of India by Sesostri in 1627 B.C." "Beyond 1005 B.C. (p. 235) horses were unknown in China." "Tsin-chi-hoang-ti, King of Tsin, founded the Tsin dynasty in 247 B.C." (p. 237); the title Shih Hwang-ti was not assumed until 221 B.C., nor was the imperial dynasty of Ts'in founded until then. The Sung capital (p. 246) was at Hangchow, not at Nanking; and the last Emperor did not "take refuge at Hankow," but surrendered to General Bayen at Hangchow, — 1,000 miles away. The Emperor Hung-wu (1394) never had missionaries (p. 253) at court, and none came to China until about 200 years after that. If the Emperor K'ien-lung (p. 263) wrote 33,950 poems (*sic*) during his sixty years' reign, he must have written about two a day, year in, year out. Consul Parkes was not (p. 273) put to death in 1859, but died in 1885 whilst Minister at Peking. Baron von Kettler (p. 286) was German Minister, not Consul. The Dowager-Empress' father was not exactly a Manchu nobleman (p. 290), but a Manchu *taotai* named Hweicheng,

ennobled third-class "duke" after his death. It is absurd to suggest (p. 293) that she murdered her own natural son, who notoriously died of small-pox (as, indeed, is already stated on p. 280!). It would, in short, be excellent practice for beginners in Chinese to utilize Mr. Twitchell's book (for it is difficult to believe that M. Bard in his original work can have made all these foolish blunders) as a sort of literary "Aunt Sally," each one trying how many "howlers" he can bowl over in a single chapter.—E. H. PARKER.

NORTH CHINA HERALD OFFICE; SHANGHAI.

12. *The East of Asia Magazine*, vol. iv., Nos. 2 and 3. This quarterly magazine keeps up its standard of information and illustration. The plan of providing its readers with a wide range of subjects connected with the East is faithfully carried out. Fairy world stories, poems, descriptions of out-of-the-way but important corners of the Eastern Empires, together with papers and translations of deep political interest, supply a choice of reading for all subscribers. We recommend to those who are interested in the development of the Eastern question a translation of special significance entitled *The Yellow Peril*. This contribution throws much livid light upon the impetus that is moving the kingdom of the Dragon, at length awakened from long sleep by the success and activity of its island neighbours. No. 4 of this volume, lately received, is particularly interesting. Included in the contents are several articles on Japanese subjects. *The Fire Ordeal*, by Mr. Pfoundes, and *The Soul of Nippon*, by George T. Murray, are both to be commended to the reader; and *Bridges of Western China* is charmingly illustrated.—S.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; NEW YORK AND LONDON, 1905.

13. *Bushido—the Soul of Japan: An Exposition of Japanese Thought*, by INAZO NITOBÉ, A.M., PH.D., with an Introduction by W. E. GRIFFIS. Tenth (revised and en-

larged edition. How shall this book be dealt with? How shall such a sensitive theme as that embodied within its pages be analyzed to the level of ordinary criticism? It is redolent with the fragrance of the cherry bloom, whose breath symbolizes the daring deeds of the Samurai, and the loyal intents of all true Japanese citizens. The author tells us: "What Japan was, she owed to the Samurai; they were not only the flower of the nation, but its root as well. All the gracious gifts of Heaven flowed through them." The moral standard of the fighting strength was high, whether actuated from motives of Shinto or Buddhist influence. Rectitude, benevolence, self-control, and other virtues were to be practised by all who took up arms in fair fight. "Intellectual and moral Japan was directly or indirectly the work of knighthood."

We could quote many lines from Mr. Nitobé's book, but it should be read as a whole to be fully comprehended and appreciated. The chapters follow well in sequence, and lead the reader on by means of a secret will-power the author exercises throughout his clear and subtle arguments.

"Bushido," with its code of moral principles "unuttered" and "unwritten," became "a law written on the fleshly tablets of the heart." It supplied to the Oriental of the Far East what the spiritual stay of Christianity afforded to the Occidental. By mere remembrance of the duties expected of this knightly band, tyrants became as slaves before their own conscience, while hours of temptation were fought out and left unsullied, in the lives of the strongest natures by aid of its precepts. The tenets of "Bushido" influenced all who willingly embraced the teaching, and strengthened each heart bent on overcoming foes seen or invisible. It brought men out of the scorch and flame of passion and resentment, tyranny and self-seeking, free as a sea-bird uninjured by the rolling waves of a tempestuous ocean, over which the pathway was inevitably marked.

That Mr. Inazo Nitobé's book has found a home within countries beyond the land of its birth is not surprising, or

that it has run through many "impressions" in English. Perhaps of all the books concerning Japan (which may now be counted by hundreds) this is the first that affords us an insight into the secret mind and character of our Eastern allies. The race *is* hard to understand—to enjoy a deep friendship after years of comradeship with these Orientals is a rare privilege. This, however, is made more possible after a study of the work of this thoughtful and well-read author. The tenor of his arguments shows a mind unbiassed. He seeks out and admits good, in the creeds and deeds of others. He excels in this particular with a masterly mind, above all bounds existent in the earlier days of the world's history.

Mr. Nitobé's "Bushido" will do more to rivet the East to the West than the signing of bonds for the balancing of the world's power, for all that brings the nations of the extremes of the earth to a better understanding of each other, is the surest aid towards true peace and universal brotherhood.—S.

BERNARD QUARITCH ; 15, PICCADILLY, LONDON, 1905.

14. The *Bábar-náma*, edited by ANNETE S. BEVERIDGE. The present volume contains, in the Turki language and character, the history of the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, and is Vol. I. of the series printed for the trustees of the Gibbs Memorial, and published under their auspices. Its designation, signifying "The Memoirs of Bábar," is but one of the several designations under which these memoirs are known. The volume consists of the autobiography of the Emperor. Originally written in Choughatáy Turkish, it is here reproduced in facsimile from a MS. which belonged to the late Sir Sálár Jang, of Hydarábád, and is edited, with a preface and indexes, by the lady above-named. The owners of the MS. are members of the family of that distinguished statesman, and it is for this good and sufficient reason that it is to pass into history as "The Hydarábád Codex." Although the *Bábar-náma* is



an autobiography, it is by no means exclusively autobiographical: it contains much general information relating to matters which interested its original compiler. Nor is it a continuous or uniform narrative, it being broken by means of *lacunæ*, and clean cut into two sections by change of style. How enthusiastically Mrs. Beveridge has taken up with the study of the career of the great Emperor is seen in the exceedingly erudite articles which appeared from her pen in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October, 1905 and January, 1906, and not less in the handsome facsimile now before us of the original Turki manuscript. The MS. as here printed consists of 382 pages; the indices (which are very complete and detailed) occupy 105 pages. The whole is prefixed by a preface containing much interesting information concerning the inception of the enterprise and concerning its merits.—B.

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE AND SONS, LTD., LONDON; E. P. DUTTON AND CO., NEW YORK; 1905.

15. Judah Hallévi's *Kitáb al Kazari*, translated from the Arabic, with an Introduction, by HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D. Originally written in Arabic, this work has been translated into Hebrew, Latin, German, Spanish, and English. The present work was also many years ago rendered by Dr. Hirschfeld into German, in which language many editions of his translation have appeared. Nor does it appear in English now for the first time. An English rendering of it was produced by Mr. E. H. Lindo, which, however, has never yet been published—the MS. of that translation is now in the library of the Jews' College. The work is written in the dialogue form, and consists of arguments, with question and answer, carried on between the King of the Kazars and a Jewish Rabbi. The work is full of Hebrew learning, Jewish theology, and Rabbinical traditions. In these respects it calls to mind the work of Maimonides reviewed in these pages a year ago. It is,

indeed, fitted, even in these advanced days, to be helpful in a very high degree to the student of Old-Testament religion. It is very thoughtful and very intelligent, and, withal, very learned. The notes and references, instead of being entered at the foot of the page, are brought together at the end of the work in a section of annotations, and these, together with the index of matters, the index of Scripture passages quoted, and the dialogues, make up a handy duodecimo volume of 313 pages. To anyone endowed with an inquiring mind, and a penchant for Jewish theology and Old-Testament information, this book should be interesting and useful. The conversion to Judaism of the Kazar people and their King is a historical fact. We feel it to be impossible to commend the little volume too highly. In these days, when every thoughtful person would examine for himself the reasons and the foundations of religious belief, it should have a wide circulation.—B.

RIKKYŌ GAKUIN PRESS, TOKYŌ. Also E. LEROUX, PARIS;  
SCHEPENS AND CO., BRUSSELS; NOESSLER AND CO.,  
BREMEN.

16. *Dictionnaire Français-Japonais*, by the ABBÉ RAGNET, of the Missions Etrangères in Japan, assisted by ONO TŌTA. We regret to find that England has not been favoured with the nomination of a publisher of this excellent work. As everyone knows, Englishmen have always taken the first place in Japanese literature, as the magnificent historical, philological, and religious studies of Aston, Satow, and Chamberlain amply bear witness; not to mention the labours of Brinkley, Imbrie, Hall, Longford, and others. But (as is the case also, by the way, with English-Chinese) the practical British mind has hitherto comparatively neglected the Anglo-Japanese department, which one would have thought was the most eagerly desired by the English student anxious to acquaint himself at once with colloquial Japanese. Thus, although we have long had with us

Hepburn's Japanese-English dictionary, hitherto the best English-Japanese has been Hampden and Poulett's (based on Satow and Isibashi's); but Abbé Ragnet's great work of 1,000 pages contains thrice the amount of matter, besides being printed in the neatest and clearest possible way. The French head-words are all set forth in bold thick type; the Japanese romanizations (*i.e.*, the sounds of the pure Japanese or Sino-Japanese words *actually accepted* as equivalents up to the present date by the Japanese themselves; not merely invented translations or paraphrases) are printed in italics; and the unromanized forms or characters are presented almost exclusively in pure Chinese, to the exclusion of the unscientific and irregular Japanese *katakana* and *hiragana*. To put it in another way, there are about 60,000 leading French words, 300,000 idiomatic illustration renderings, and 120,000 Chinese characters to do duty concurrently with the romanizations, whether those romanizations represent pure Japanese ideas and words, such as *akari*; pure Chinese ideas and words, such as *shokubutsu*; mixed Chinese and Japanese words, such as *sen-ya*; or possibly ancient Chinese words which *may have* become Japanese in pre-historical times, such as *iki*. In the very few cases in which the Japanese termination syllables are added, the object aimed at is not apparent, unless it be that the Japanese in such exceptional cases habitually decline to use the Chinese ideograph without the "superfetation."

The thanks of the literary world are due to M. Paul Doumer, formerly Governor-General of French Indo-China, for his good sense, public spirit, and liberality in granting from the colonial treasury a handsome subsidy in aid of the splendid enterprise of the Missions Etrangères Society, and acknowledgment is also due to the Belgian Government (M. Ragnet is a Belgian) for adding a subsidy of their own, besides conferring their distinguished patronage. The learned Abbé has had the happy thought of prefacing his dictionary with a concise and extremely useful abridged grammar; so that, armed with this one single work, the

student can tackle with his combined dictionary and grammar the whole subject of Japanese—of course with his native teacher—until such time as he is fit to sit at the feet of Aston, Chamberlain, and Satow, whose grammatical works are, naturally, of a more searching nature, as, indeed, becomes publications exclusively devoted to a particular field of knowledge in detail. Most Russians and Dutchmen of education are as familiar with French as with their own tongue, and to them in especial the Abbé Ragnet's work will have a special value; for, as everyone knows, the Dutch language was for long the only European tongue studied by the Japanese, and even a generation ago the first batches of English student-interpreters and consuls found it their interest to be proficient in Dutch. With the French themselves it is much a case of *sic vos non vobis*, for there are so few of them in Japan. It is greatly to the credit of the disinterested and self-sacrificing Missions Etrangères that to them we owe also the best Korean dictionary and grammar. Altogether the *Dictionnaire Français-Japonais* is an excellent production, full of inexhaustible interest to the Far-Eastern student, whether his speciality be Chinese or Japanese; it merits a rapid, increasing, and permanent sale.—E. H. PARKER.

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SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, MADRAS;  
AND SIMPKIN, MARSHALL AND CO., LONDON.

17. *A Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language, with Copious Examples and Exercises*, by the Rev. A. H. ARDEN, M.A.. Second edition, 1905. The author in composing this excellent grammar has followed a most useful course. He has so arranged the exercises and examples as to enable the English student to master it with ease and rapidity. The early portions of the book will be found specially suited for *beginners*, as they are based upon papers which were drawn up by himself when he commenced the study of Telugu. Throughout the book

the student is led, step by step, to obtain such information only as is positively required at the stage at which he has arrived; hence its progressive character which will greatly accelerate the acquisition of the language. The type is large, and a considerable portion of the book is taken up with examples and exercises all of which have been supplied by natives and are consequently thoroughly idiomatic and colloquial. The colloquial and grammatical dialect is kept quite distinct. Having acquired the colloquial dialect, the student can then with ease acquire a knowledge of the grammatical dialect. The author has therefore divided his grammar into three parts. In the first part there is an interesting statement as to the language itself, and how it should be studied. The alphabet is then explained, followed by a chapter showing the alphabet fully, together with some exercises in reading. The second part contains a complete grammar of the colloquial dialect, and the third part forms an introduction to the grammatical dialect used in books. In every way the structure of the volume is admirable and gives as little trouble as possible for the acquisition, not only colloquially, but grammatically, as it appears in books. Mr. Arden should be congratulated in furnishing such a useful help to students who wish to acquire a thorough knowledge of this interesting language, which is spoken by about twenty millions of people inhabiting a portion of the eastern side of the Indian Peninsula.

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H. A. ST. BRIDE'S PRESS, LIMITED; 24, BRIDE LANE,  
LONDON, E.C.

18. *The Gambia Colony and Protectorate, an official Handbook*, by FRANCIS BISSET ARCHER, treasurer of the Colony. This excellently got-up volume has been dedicated to the present Governor, Sir George Chordin Denton, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of the Gambia. It is modestly titled "An Official Handbook,"

but it is an interesting and exhaustive history from our remotest knowledge of it through the period when, as in all the settlements on the Guinea Coast, it saw the slave-trading post established in the face of the opposition of the Portuguese, French, and Dutch—a period that carries us to the treaty of 1783, which first recognised the Gambia as a British River, though with the reservation of Albreda; through the time of prosperity for the “factories,” which ended with the prohibition of the slave-trade in 1807; and thence through the decade of practical desertion of the district until, in 1817, British merchants from Senegal formed a settlement on St. Mary Island and substituted for the iniquitous bartering of human lives a legitimate trade in ivory, ground-nuts, bees-wax, and other tropical products. Four years later the Gambia and the Gold Coast were joined with Sierra Leone to form the “colony of West African settlements,” but in 1843 the growing trade in ground-nuts having revived its prosperity and its area, having been increased by various additions of territory along the banks of the river, the colony was rendered independent of Sierra Leone, and it remained a separate colony until 1866, when all the settlements were again combined under one governor-in-chief, though each continued to have its own Legislative Council. When, in 1874, the Gold Coast and Lagos were united as the Gold Coast Colony, the Gambia still remained attached to Sierra Leone, under the name “West African Settlements.” In 1888 the Gambia became a Crown Colony, and it remains as such to the present time. It is situated as nearly as possible in the north latitude  $13^{\circ} 24'$  and  $16^{\circ} 36'$ , and comprises both banks of the river Gambia, from the north inland due east to a small village on the north bank three miles above Konja, where the French sphere of influence is reached. It consists of somewhere about 5,000 square miles. The seat of the Government is at Bathurst. The river itself is one of the great waterways of the world, measuring at its mouth about twenty-seven miles across, and opposite



Bathurst two and a half miles. Next to the Congo it is the safest river to enter on all the West African coast, having a bar, which can be crossed at any time of the tide. This bar is never less in depth than 26 feet of water, and, as there is a wide channel, ships of war on the station and ocean-going steamers have no difficulty in crossing. The river is tidal for 350 miles, and is navigable by steamers drawing 6 feet of water as far as the shallows of Barraconda. Along the river in certain parts the scenery is interesting, enhanced by its being the scene of Mungo Park's explorations.

The volume contains maps and plans and numerous beautiful illustrations. The value of the work may be indicated from the divisions regarding the earliest records of the founding of Bathurst down to 1865—descriptions under the travelling commissioners, the history of the colony during the past decade, the chief enactments in force for the government and administration of the Protectorate, a dictionary of words and phrases in common use, general information as to appointments, finance, fiscal, and much miscellaneous information. There is also a record of the services of officers and an excellent index.

T. FISHER UNWIN; PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON, 1905.

19. *British East Africa, Past, Present, and Future*, by LORD HINDLIP, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. This readable, practical, well-written, well-printed in good type, and handy book, is dedicated to Sir Charles Eliot, late High Commissioner for British East Africa, "as a slight token of regard in recognition of his services to the country, and as a protest against the treatment he received." It consists of nine chapters, appendix, and minute index. It treats of the Masai Question and Sir Charles Eliot's resignation, the Uganda Railway, administration, hut-tax and labour supply, settlement of the country, land, and prospects of settlers, suggestions for settlers, and a settler's views of game

preservation. The author, for his purpose, divides the country into three zones, the first of which is the sea-coast. This strip is tropical and not too healthy. Its vegetation consists chiefly of mangrove forests, cocoanut palms, mangoes, fibrous plants, such as *sidal* and *sans-virei*, bananas, pineapples, oranges, limes, forests of valuable timber, and of rubber. The second zone, or the real white man's country, is noted chiefly for the herds of game, gangs of gunners, and the quantity and ferociousness of the ticks. The plains will do for stock, if these pests are not too deadly. The third zone begins at Mohoroni, where there is good grazing, but this zone, in his opinion, is hardly fitted for a white man's home. The "Suggestions for Settlers" are practical and valuable. But the whole book ought to be carefully perused.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The Benefits of Kindness*, by SHAIKH SA 'DI of Shiraz. Being the second book of the *Būstān*, translated by GEORGE S. A. RANKING, M.A. (Oxon.), M.D. (Cantab.), University Lecturer in Persian. (Parker and Son, Broad Street, Oxford, 1906.) The present translation has been prepared solely as an assistance to those students of Persian in Oxford, for whom the second book of the *Būstān* is an examination subject, and has in consequence been made literal.

*Swami Vivekananda*. A Collection of his Speeches and Writings. With five portraits. (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) This publication is the first of its kind, being a collection of his writings, speeches, and addresses in England, America, and India, and interesting letters in prose and verse to friends. His speeches are both eloquent and inspiring. His works cover the whole field of Hindu religion and philosophy. He exhorts his countrymen "to cast off the customs and superstitions of degenerate days, and to rise to the grand and noble con-

ception of the Upanishadic divinity of man." There is much in the volume that will greatly interest the Western reader.

*Some Sayings from the Upanishads.* Translated into English, with notes, by L. D. BARNETT, M.A., D.LITT., Assistant in the Department of Oriental Books and MSS. of the British Museum. (Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, London, 1905.) A collection of interesting and well selected sayings, with historical and explanatory notes.

*The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book*, 1906. (Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London.) A very useful directory to authors and writers, lists of publishers in England and America, colour-printers, literary agents, classified index of papers and magazines, and useful directions as to how to correct proofs.

*The Maintenance of Health in the Tropics*, by W. J. SIMPSON, M.A., F.R.C.P. (Published under the auspices of the London School of Tropical Medicine by John Bale, Sons and Danielsson, Ltd., Great Titchfield Street, London, 1905.) This is a useful handbook, written in a simple and popular manner, and will be found helpful to those residing in or visiting the tropics. It is composed of six chapters, treating as to climate, diet, drinking-water, dwelling-house, fevers, snake-bites, other wounds, and other ailments. It also contains a list of medical equipments as to drugs, instruments, bandages, disinfectants.

*Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the year 1904-1905, with Supplement.* The number of Public Institutions for the year 1903-1904 was 9,887, and for the year 1904-1905, 10,194. The number of pupils for the former year was 513,479, and for the latter year 593,431. The number of Private Institutions, "advanced and elementary," for the former year, 2,573; for the latter year, 2,782. And the number of pupils respectively was 64,881 and 72,672.

*Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Surveyor*

*United Provinces and Punjab for the Year ending March 31, 1905.* The report is divided into two parts. The first consists of archæological notes on buildings in Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Multan, Ajmer. The second, notes on some places visited during the year 1904. The report is accompanied with beautifully-executed photographs, drawings, and maps. The photographs reflect great credit on the artists.

*Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1894-1895 to 1903-1904.* (Thirty-ninth number. Presented to Parliament, 1905.) This voluminous abstract contains tables relating to area and population, 1901; Justice, Police, and Prisons; Finance, Coinage, and Currency; Post-Office Information, Banks, Telegraphs, Municipalities, District and Local Boards; Education, Printing Presses, Agriculture, and Land Tenures; Railways, Irrigation Work, Trade, Shipping, Army, Emmigration, Vital Statistics, Wild Animals, Wages, Joint Stock Companies, Industries, Inventions, and Designs; Mineral Productions, etc.; numerous appendices, and a copious index.

*Report of Archæological Survey Work in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan for the Period from January 2, 1904, to March 31, 1905.* by M. A. Stein, PH.D., Government Press, Peshawar, 1905. The Report consists of surveys in various districts, well-executed illustrations, and plans.

*A History of India*, by A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, M.A. (Oxford), PH.D. (Tübingen), C.I.E., late principal Calcutta Madrasah, and HERBERT A. STARK, B.A. (Calcutta), Inspector of Schools Orissa Division. (Cuttack Orissa Mission Press, 1905. Luzac and Co., London.) The authors of this short school history have noticed the chief points suitable to schools in an interesting narrative form, and the results of modern research as to inscriptions, coins, and MSS. And in order to assist teachers desirous of obtaining further information, a selected list of the best and latest writings on Indian antiquities has been added. There are numerous

illustrations of coins, inscriptions, *stupas*, buildings, and portraits. The latest is that of Lord Curzon. The work is a concise history, well arranged, and well adapted to teachers and scholars of high-class seminaries.

*The Congress and Conferences of 1905*, being a collection of all the papers read at and submitted to the Industrial Conference at Benares, and the Presidential Addresses delivered at the Benares Sessions of the Congress, the Social Conference, the all-India Temperance Conference; also Mr. B. G. Lilak's speech at the Bhorat Dhorma Mohamandala, and the Hon. Syed Mohomad Hussian's Presidential Address at the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Aligarh. (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) This is the first Industrial Conference held in India in connection with the National Congress. R. G. Dutt, Esq., J.G.I.E., was elected President and delivered an admirable address. The contents of the various papers and speeches are interesting and merit careful perusal.

*Ezekiel's Vision und Die Salomoneschen Wasser becker.* Von Dr. Ludwig Venetianer. (Friederich Killan Nachfolger, Budapest, 1906.) A very learned pamphlet in German on Solomon's water-pools, showing the importance of the study of Assyriology in throwing light on certain difficult passages in the Old Testament, especially Ezekiel's Vision.

*English Composition Simplified: a Short Treatise containing a Summary of English Grammar, Hints on Essay-writing, Outline, and Specimen Essays, and a List of Typical Subjects*, by J. LOGAN, Headmaster of the Ormond School for boys, Dublin. (Thomas Murby and Co., 3, Ludgate Circus Buildings, London; Brown and Nolan, Ltd., Dublin.) This small work will be very useful to the youths in India and the Far East who wish to acquire an accurate knowledge of some portions of English grammar and composition.

*Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1904-1905.* (Printed at the Government

Central Press, Bombay.) This exhaustive report contains, in Part I., a Summary. In Part II. there are nine chapters, referring to Tributary States, Land Administration, Legislative Authorities, Production and Distribution, Finance, Education, Archæology, Miscellaneous, including the Churches of England and Scotland.

*The Assistant Commissioner's Note-Book*, by CAPTAIN C. H. BUCK, I.A., Punjab Commission. Dedicated to Lord Curzon of Kedleston, with Glossary of Vernacular Words. (Edward Stanford, Long Acre, London, W.C., 1906.) This most useful note-book is written, concisely and distinctly, from personal experience, and ought to be in the hands of every official entering upon his duties as an Assistant Commissioner. Within the small space of about 150 pages, Mr. Buck has condensed information in regard to Outfit, Administrative Duties, Official Instructions, and Departmental Examinations; Court Procedure, Criminal and Civil; Inspection of District Divisions; Duties of Village Accountants, District Police, and Inspection; Inspection of Schools; the Culture of Trees and Grasses; a variety of miscellaneous subjects. There is also appended a Glossary of Vernacular Words, which will be of great service on the initiation of a young official.

*The Faithless Favourite: A Mixed Tragedy*, by EDWIN SOUTER, 1,331, North Seventh Street, St. Louis, 1905. The author of this drama adheres to the fundamental fact of the old chroniclers' stories of Athelwold and Elfredi. The chief names are taken from Hume's "History of England." There is added to the work what he terms "Schediasm," which embraces some quaint, witty, and wise cogitations.

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We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Captain*, *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—*Technics*, a magazine for technical students;—*A Techno-*



*logical and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney;—*C. B. Fry's Magazine*;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals Defender* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.);—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the

Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C. ; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh ; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin) ; — *The British Empire Review*, the organ of the British Empire League, a non-partisan monthly magazine for readers interested in Imperial and Colonial affairs and literature (The British Empire League, 112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.) ; — *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. v., Nos. 1-2 (Hanoi : F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1905) ; — *The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras) ; — *The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road) ; — *Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), October, November, and December, 1905 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.) ; — *The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras) ; — *The Christian Patriot* (the M. E. Press, Mount Road, Madras) ; — *Journal of the Moslem Institute*, a quarterly chiefly devoted to subjects of Oriental interest (Calcutta, No. 1) ; — *Malabar Daily News*, a morning and evening newspaper (Kottayam : P. Jacob Pothan, *Malabar Daily News* Publishing House) ; — *India Office Library Catalogue*. Vol. i., with index and supplement ; vol. ii., Parts I., III., and IV. ; — *The Light of the World*, Nos. 4, 5, 6 (A. Suhrawardy, 2, Fenchurch Avenue, London, E.C.) ; — *The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Ltd., Toronto) ; — *Articles from the Smithsonian Report for 1904* ; — *Rabah et les Arabes du Chavi* (Librairie Orientale and Americaine, 6, Rue de Mezieres, Paris) ; — *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Bombay Education Society's Press, Bombay ; Luzac and Co., London) ; — *Anthropos*, vol. i., No. 1 (Zanruth and Co., Salzburg, Austria).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works : *The Great Plateau* : being an account of exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905, by Captain C. G. Rawling (London : Edward Arnold, 1905) ;—*In the Desert*, by L. March Phillips (London : Edward Arnold, Maddox Street, 1905) ;—*Everyday Life among Head-Hunters, and other Experiences from East to West*, by Dorothy Cator (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, 1905) ;—*Rifle and Romance in the Indian Jungle* : a record of thirteen years, by Captain A. I. R. Glasfurd (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, and New York, 1905) ;—*The Africander Land*, by Archibald R. Colquhoun (London : John Murray, 1906) ;—*The Classics of Confucius* : book of history (Shu King). Rendered and compiled by W. Gorn Old, M.R.A.S. (London : John Murray, 1906) ;—*The Wisdom of the East* : "The Instruction of Ptah-Hotep" and "The Instruction of Ke' Gemni," the oldest books in the world. Translated from the Egyptian, with an introduction and appendix, by Battiscombe G. Gunn (London : John Murray, 1906) ;—*The Wisdom of the East* : "The Wisdom of Israel," being extracts from the Babylonian Talmud and Midrash Rabbah. Translated from the Aramaic and Hebrew, with an introduction, by Edwin Collins (London : John Murray, 50A, Albemarle Street, W.) ;—*Dictionary of Indian Biography*, by C. E. Buckland, C.I.E. (London : Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 25, High Street, Bloomsbury, 1906) ;—*The Shāhnāma of Firdausi*. Done into English by Arthur George Warner, M.A., and Edmond Warner, B.A., vol. i. (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., Gerrard Street, W., 1905) ;—*Japan*, by David Murray, PH.D., LL.D. With a supplementary chapter by Joseph H. Longford. Sixth edition (London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1, Adelphi Terrace; New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906) ;—*Turkish Self-taught, with English Phonetic Pronunciation*, by Captain C. A. Thimm. Revised by Professor G. Hagopian. Fourth

edition (London: E. Marlborough and Co., Old Bailey, E.C., 1905);—*At the Gates of the East*: a book of travel among historic wonderlands, by Lieutenant-Colonel J. P. Barry, A.B., M.B. (Longmans, Green and Co., Paternoster Row, London, New York, and Bombay, 1906);—*A Fantasy of Far Japan; or, Summer Dream Dialogues*, by Baron Suyematsu (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1905);—*A Tropical Dependency*: an outline of the ancient history of the Western Soudan, with an account of the modern settlement of Northern Nigeria, by Flora L. Shaw (Lady Lugard) (London: James Nisbet and Co., Ltd., Berners Street, 1905);—*Here and There*: memories, Indian and other, by H. G. Keene, C.I.E. (London: Langham and Co., 78, New Bond Street, 1906).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The principal event of the last quarter was the visit of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, the detailed account of which in the Indian newspapers has been followed with the greatest interest. Amongst the many public functions that His Royal Highness performed during the time was laying the foundation-stone of the following institutions: the Queen Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta, a new Medical College at Lucknow, the Technical Institute at Madras, the Victoria Zenana Hospital at Haidarabad; also the opening of the Memorial Park at Rangoon and the unveiling of a statue erected to the memory of Queen Victoria at Bangalore.

Their Royal Highnesses' visit to Haidarabad at the beginning of February brought to a fitting close that part of the royal tour which has been devoted to the Native States of India, the loyalty of whose rulers to the British Crown will have been cemented still further by the visit of the Heir Apparent.

In connection with the Prince of Wales' visit to Benares a Sanscrit Library will be erected at that place.

The royal visit to Aligarh is to be commemorated by the erection and equipment of a school of science connected with the Anglo-Oriental College. To provide for this 7 lacs have already been subscribed by Muhammedans in India.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales also went to Quetta, the headquarters of the British Administration in Baluchistan, where he received visits from the Khan of Khelat and the Jam of Las Bela, and held a Durbar, attended by all the Sirdars of Baluchistan.

Their Royal Highnesses sailed from Karachi on March 17.

The difficulties which arose in connection with the much discussed question of Indian Army reforms have not yet been smoothed over.

Brigadier-General Bayly, Principal of the Indian Staff

College, has been appointed Secretary in the new Army Department, and Colonel Maconchy Secretary in the Military Supply Department.

The drought-stricken regions of Upper India have benefited by rain. In the Central Provinces, however, while rain helped the late-sown crops, it has damaged the standing crops. The number of persons under State relief throughout India now exceeds 352,000.

The Prince of Wales visited a famine relief camp.

A severe earthquake occurred in Bashahr, one of the Hill States.

The Report for three years ending March 31, 1905, on the Irrigation of Bengal, shows that the annual receipts from major works were Rs. 2,056,000, and the annual average working expenses just over 11 lacs. The area irrigated by the Orissa, Midnapore, and Sone canals exceeds 800,000 acres.

Regarding Madras, a Report issued shows the total area taken up since the work commenced as 63,062 square miles, of which 54,541 square miles have been completed, out of a total area of 116,855 square miles to be investigated in the Presidency.

The total expenditure on major irrigation works in Burma during 1904-1905 was a little over 12 lacs of rupees. The revenue receipts from major and minor works and navigation were  $28\frac{1}{2}$  lacs, and the working expenses 16 lacs, leaving a net revenue of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  lacs.

Some of the canals in the United Provinces during last year gave a very high percentage of return on capital outlay, notably the Eastern Jumna, 22·82; the Bijnor canals, 14·70; and the Upper Ganges canal, 9·88.

At the annual Kumbh Mela gathering in Allahabad the number of pilgrims present was estimated to be 2,000,000.

The Prince of Arcot, having resigned his seat on the Madras Legislative Council, Mahomed Raza Khan, a retired member of the Provincial Civil Service, has been nominated in his place.



The following gentlemen have been appointed members of the Panjab Legislative Council : Sardar Partalb Singh Ahluwalia, of Jullunder, and Thakur Mahan Chand, of Gurdaspur.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—A settlement on satisfactory terms was made in January with the *chamkawms*, north of the Kurram Valley. Their raiding of Luris will, it is hoped, not be renewed.

An attack was made on December 22, 1905, on the village of Banamani by a party of armed Afridis, a few miles from the cantonment of Peshawar. The firing lasted a couple of hours. One villager was shot. The raiders were led by the notorious outlaw Gafar, and their object was loot.

Mr. Crump, the Political Officer at Wana (North-West Frontier), had a meeting with the Mashud headman on February 28 on account of the recent offences committed by the tribe, which include the murder of three British officers.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—H.H. the Maharaja of Orchha has been appointed K.G.C.S.I., and H.H. the Raja of Chamba K.C.I.E., and H.H. the Nawab of Janjira K.G.C.I.E. H.H. the Mir of Khairpur has been granted an addition of two guns, as a personal distinction, to his salute of nineteen guns. The Maharaja of Banswora, Rajpootana, has been invested with the powers of a ruling chief.

PERSIA.—The erection of the extension across the desert of the Indo - European Government telegraphs from Teheran to India is progressing. It proceeds viâ Kashan Yez, Kerman, Panjgur, viâ Las Beyla.

The Naib es Saltaneh, brother of the Shah, who was Minister of War for twelve years, from 1884 to 1896, has been reappointed to his former post. Other ministerial changes will take place.

In reference to the Turkish-Persian frontier dispute, the Turkish troops have not yet been withdrawn.

The Persian Government has rejected the award made by the British Mission regarding the distribution of the waters of the river Helmand between the Persians and the

Afghans for irrigation purposes. This decision was formally notified on February 26

The King has appointed Major P. M. Sykes, C.M.G., to be His Majesty's Consul-General in Khorassan, to reside at Meshed; and Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Mackintosh Stewart to be His Majesty's Consul for Kerman and Persian Beluchistan, to reside at Kerman.

**TURKEY IN ASIA: YEMEN.**—News received in January stated that the Turkish troops had received a reverse, Ahmad Faizi Pasha having sustained a check, being compelled to fall back upon Omran, near Sana's, where he was awaiting reinforcements of some 8,000 men before attacking the Arabs.

News received in February stated that the Turks have retreated from Sana's to Taiz, and that the Arabs are in pursuit. The Turks sustained serious losses at Shahara, Amran was surrounded, and Jebel Doran and Maaber occupied by the Arabs, who made their headquarters at Khomirh. The country is in a state of disorder.

In the Mocha and Dubab districts abnormal rains have flooded the country.

**JAPAN.**—The new Cabinet appointed by the Emperor last January consisted of: Marquis Saionji, Prime Minister; Mr. Kato, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Hara, Minister of the Interior; Mr. Yoshiro Sakatani, Finance; General Teranchi, War; Vice-Admiral Minoru Saito, Marine; Mr. Isaburo Yamagata, Communications; Mr. Makino, Education; and Mr. Matsuda, Justice.

Mr. Luke E. Wright, Governor-General of the Philippines, has been named by President Roosevelt as first American Ambassador to Japan.

The Budget for the current year includes £11,000,000 devoted annually to pay off the war debts. The normal expenditure unconnected with the war amounts to £23,000,000, and expenditure as a result of the war, £80,000,000; £2,000,000 is to be spent on the navy, and £15,000 on rewards and pensions.

In consequence of the famine in Japan, liberal subscriptions are being received and forwarded from England and our colonies. The Victorian Government telegraphed £400 to Japan for the relief of the famine-stricken population.

The Dominion Government of Canada is contributing £5,000 worth of Canadian flour to the Japanese famine fund. This will be shipped with yeast and directions for baking.

The Government of Japan has made the following regulations for foreigners who desire to enter Port Arthur, and other places within the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of the Kwong-tung Peninsula. Permits will be issued by the Minister of War; applicants must apply through their respective embassies or legations at Tokio. Permits will be granted under the following conditions: (1) Only persons going to remove their property will be allowed to go. (2) Precise details must be given as to the time and place of departure, and the position of the property to be removed, as well as its quantity, nature, and value. (3) Each owner of property may send one representative, but joint owners can send only one person to represent them jointly. (4) No traveller can be accompanied by more than three servants.

Prince Arthur of Connaught arrived at Yokohama on February 19. At Tokio he was met by the Emperor in person, who exchanged the most cordial greetings. The Prince afterwards drove to the Kasumi Gaseki Palace, accompanied by the Crown Prince of Japan. Here on the following day Prince Arthur bestowed the Order of the Garter upon the Mikado. The day was observed as one of general rejoicing.

Prince Arthur also invested Admiral Togo and Marshals Yamagata and Oyama with the Order of Merit. The ceremony took place in the palace in the presence of all the Garter Mission. After visiting several other places in Japan, Prince Arthur will pay a visit to Canada.

The Government of Japan having proposed the nationalization of all the railways, Mr. Kato, the Foreign Minister, has resigned.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.—On January 27 Lord Cromer declared the Nile Red Sea Railway open from Port Soudan to Atbara Junction before an assembly which included the Sirdar and Lady Wingate, ten members of the Legislative Council, Sir Vincent Corbett, and many others, including native chiefs.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The Duke and Duchess of Connaught have made an extensive tour in South Africa, visiting the principal towns and historic places in the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, and other parts. They have been enthusiastically received everywhere.

AFRICA: EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA PROTECTORATE.—Mr. R. E. Noble, barrister-at-law, has been appointed by the Earl of Elgin to be Chief Magistrate at Nairobi, East African Protectorate.

TRANSSVAAL.—The mineral output of the Transvaal for 1905 is valued at £22,688,675, of which amount diamonds account for £922,780. The total increase in value, as compared with 1904, amounts to £4,544,558.

NATAL.—Some trouble has arisen with reference to the collection of the poll-tax. On February 8 a collision occurred between police and armed Zulus. An officer and a trooper were killed. The leader, Gobizembelos, has been captured, and the presence of Imperial troops has settled the matter.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA: NIGERIA.—The first exhibition for the central division of Southern Nigeria was opened on December 19 by Mr. Copland Crawford, Divisional Commissioner for Central Division. Chiefs, with their many followers, from all the surrounding towns were present. The exhibits were numerous, among which were a great number by native chiefs and their people. At the opening there were 20,000 natives present, including all the important chiefs. The exhibition proved a complete

success in every way, and it is intended to make it an annual event.

The administration of Southern Nigeria Protectorate has been placed under that of the Colony of Lagos, and the name changed to that of the Colony of Southern Nigeria. (See also our article in this number.)

An outbreak having occurred by certain native tribes under, as is reported, the Mahdi, a stubborn fight took place in the region of Sokoto with the troops of the West African Frontier Force, under the command of Major Goodwin. The rebels were completely defeated. Captain Gallagher was severely wounded.

AFRICA: MOROCCO.—Several important questions having arisen between France and the Sultan connected with reforms, a Conference has been held at Algeiras with representatives of France, Germany, and other interested Powers. This Conference has continued for several weeks, and the final result with regard to the question of Bank and Police has not, on our going to press, been settled.

All the Emirs are showing remarkable loyalty.

SOMALILAND.—Brigadier-General E. J. Swayne, Commissioner of the Somaliland Protectorate, has been appointed Governor of British Honduras, in succession to Sir E. B. Sweet-Escott.

AUSTRALASIA: SYDNEY.—The population of Sydney metropolitan area on December 3 last was estimated to be 529,000, an increase of 11,030 during the year.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The exports and imports for 1905 show increases of £1,500,000 and £10,000,000 respectively.

The area under wheat is 2,220,000 acres.

Mr. A. Morgan, the Premier of Queensland, has been elected President of the Legislative Council, in succession to the late Sir H. M. Nelson.

VICTORIA.—The revenue for the last six months of 1905 amounted to £3,515,000.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue returns for January show that the excess over the expenditure during the past seven

months amounts to £137,000, as compared with £72,000 during the same period of the previous financial year.

CANADA.—The revenue for the first half of the current fiscal year, ended December 31 last, was \$37,877,167, and the expenditure \$25,747,695, leaving a surplus of \$12,129,472.

The Customs returns for the seven months ending January last reached \$26,292,000, an increase of over \$2,000,000 on the corresponding period of last year.

The colonial control of the garrison of Halifax, Nova Scotia, commenced on January 16 last.

The mineral production of Canada during the past year is valued at \$685,747,010, showing an increase of \$10,795,791 over the output of 1904.

Elaborate preparations are being made in Canada for the reception of Prince Arthur of Connaught, who will arrive about March 28.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The value of the imports for the year ended June 30 last was \$10,279,292, and exports \$10,669,342.

The amount of revenue for the December quarter was the largest in the Colony's history, viz., £111,400, as compared with £108,400 in the corresponding quarter of 1904.

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*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following:—Sir Clinton Edward Dawkins, K.C.B., employed under Lord Cross, Secretary of State for India, after under Mr. Goschen as Under-Secretary for Finance in India;—Captain Edward Gelly Meyricke, R.E. (1901-5 served with Egyptian army);—Sir Lionel Eldred Smith-Gordon, formerly 1st Battalion Highland Infantry (Crimea and the Mutiny);—Mr. Henry Edward Sullivan, C.S.I., late of the Executive Council of the Government of Madras, afterwards Resident at Travancore and Cochin;—Major-General T. J. Watson (Mutiny, Bhutan expedition 1864, Jowaki expedition 1877-78, Afghan war 1879-80);—General I. S. Hawks



(in Madras Native Infantry 1846, in command Keonphur Cuttack expedition 1868);—General George G. Pearce, c.b., late colonial commanding Royal Horse Artillery, Madras (Punjab campaign 1848-49, expedition to Khagan and the Black Mountain 1852, Mutiny);—Colonel J. Stevenson, retired, Royal Scots Fusiliers (Mutiny, Bhutan expedition 1864-65);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. K. Westropp, 80th Regiment (Bhutan expedition 1865, Afghan war 1879-80);—General Sir Charles Cooper Johnson, g.c.b., 33rd Bengal Native Infantry 1845 (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Mutiny, Hazara expedition, Afghan campaign 1878-80);—General Robert Romer Younghusband, entered 1837 (Afghan war 1840-42, Sind campaign 1842-43, Persian expedition 1856-57);—Mr. Thomas Archer, formerly Agent-General for Queensland;—Colonel Montague Charles Browning, c.b., late Lieutenant-Colonel 3rd (Militia) Battalion Suffolk Regiment (Crimea and Mutiny);—Surgeon-General John Lumsdaine, Indian Medical Service, Central India 1857-59 (Ratghur, Baroda, Sangor, Gwalior, etc.);—Major-General Cooper Johnson, g.c.b., Bengal army 1844 (Sutlej campaign 1846, Mutiny, Hazara expedition 1868); Major-General T. M. Shelley, Indian army (Mutiny);—Colonel William Carey, c.b., late Royal Artillery (Burmese expedition 1885-86);—Captain John Lawrence (Crimea, Mutiny);—Captain G. H. Burgoyne, late 93rd Highlanders (Crimea, Mutiny);—Rev. J. A. Elliot, for many years a Wesleyan missionary in India;—The Dowager Maharani of Burdwan;—General G. N. Channer, v.c. (North-West Frontier 1863-64, Perac expedition 1874-75, Jovaki expedition 1877-78, Afghan war 1878-79, Hazara expedition 1888);—Major-General Alexander Clark Kennedy, Indian Army, entered 1862 (Egypt 1882, Burmese expedition 1887-88, Chin Lushat expedition 1889-80);—General W. G. Mainwaring, entered 1843 (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Persian expeditionary force 1857, Afghan war 1879-80, Defence of Kandahar);—General C. Hight, entered 1842 (Orissa Hill tribes 1847, 1849-51);—Major-General F. W.

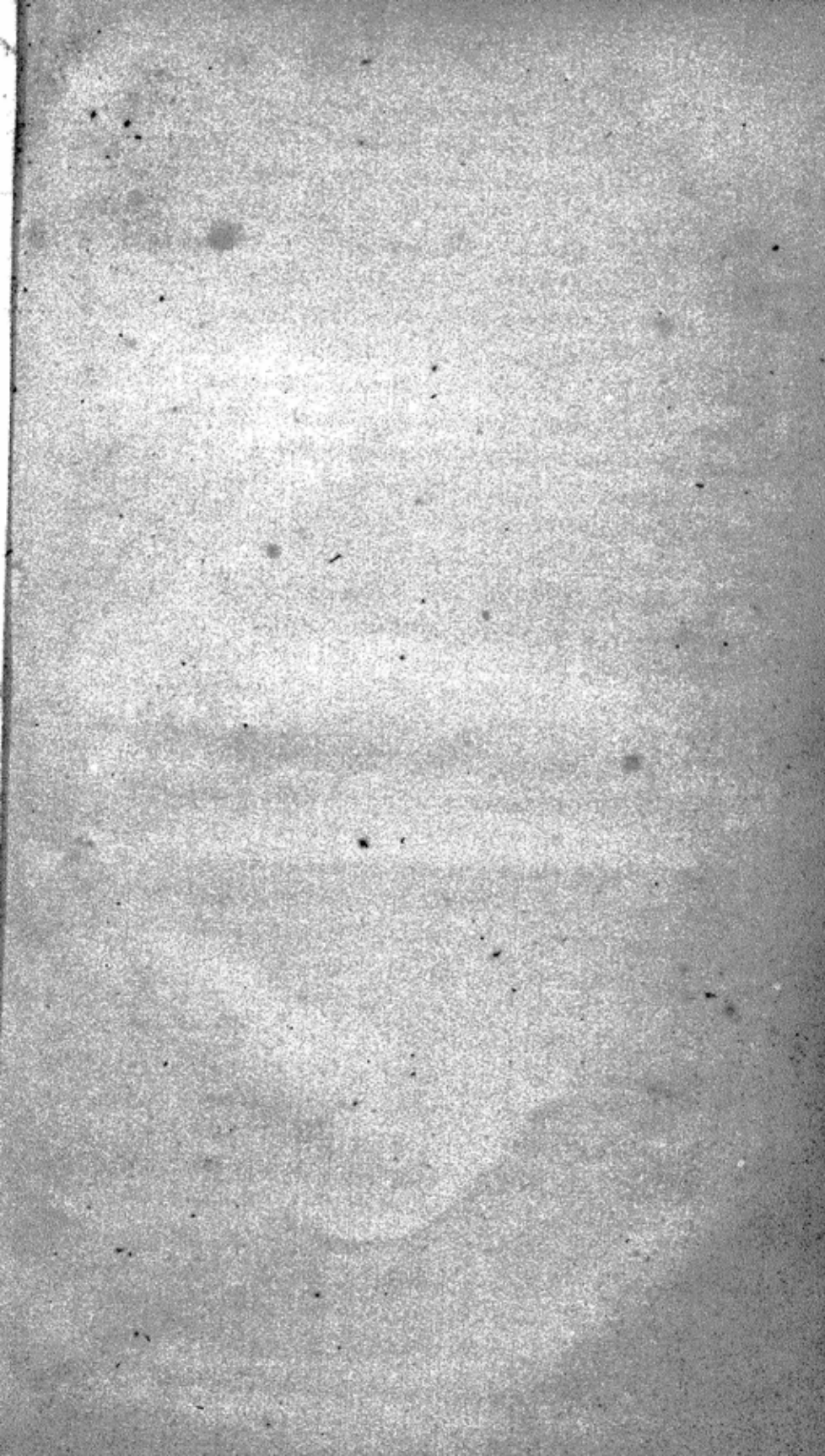
Collis, Indian Staff Corps (Abyssinian war 1868, Afghan war 1879, Mahsud Vaziri expedition 1881);—Mr. Ernest Barclay, late Government solicitor of Madras;—Mr. Francis Lloyd, late Judge of the High Court, Bombay;—Mr. John Christopher Graham, formerly Field Artillery, late Honourable East India Company's service;—Captain G. C. P. Williams-Freeman, Chief Constable of Shropshire (Egypt war 1882, Sudan expedition 1884-85);—Babu G. Law, C.I.E., a merchant in Calcutta, and served on the Legislative Council of Bengal and the Government General);—Mr. Philip Sandys Melvill, C.S.I., I.C.S., assistant to Sir Henry Lawrence;—Colonel W. N. McCausland (Indian campaign 1858-59, Lucknow);—Mr. Robert Knox MacBride, C.M.G., was for many years Director of Public Works, Ceylon;—William Frederick de Fabeck, M.D., M.R.C.S. Eng., retired Surgeon-General, Indian Medical Service;—Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff;—Captain Richard Freer Thonger (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Punjab campaign 1848-49, Mutiny, Lucknow);—General Charles James Merriman, formerly of Bombay Engineers, Government Secretary to the Public Works and Irrigation Departments 1880-85;—Sir Joseph Ewart, retired Deputy Surgeon-General of the Indian army;—Mr. G. D. Leman, late Madras Civil Service;—Major-General D. E. Lockhart (Indian Mutiny campaign, siege of Delhi, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding 107th Regiment 1874-79);—Major-General T. R. Hume, late 55th Regiment (Eastern campaign 1854-55, Alma, Inkerman);—Colonel Matthew Morton Bowie, late Madras Artillery and the Indian Staff Corps;—Mr. Ross, Superintendent of the Government Central Press, Calcutta;—Lieutenant Robert Nicholson;—Major-General Henry Peter Sykes, late of the 2nd Bombay Cavalry;—Major-General William Cooke;—Major John Whitacre Allen, late Princess of Wales' own Regiment, India;—Major-General R. B. Moore, late of Bombay Staff Corps, and formerly of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry;—Major-General Osborn Wilkinson, C.B., of the Indian army (siege

and capture of Lucknow);—Mr. James Hunter Prinsep, late of the Indian Civil Service;—Mr. Henry Dewes, of Indian Civil Service;—Mr. O. T. Hemsley, Superintendent of the Government Agri-Horticultural Gardens, Lahore;—Mr. W. H. Kennedy, clerk in the Foreign Department of Government of India;—Major-General P. C. Cunningham, late of the Indian army;—Arthur William Irwin, late Her Majesty's chaplain, Bengal establishment;—Colonel Malcolm Scrimshire Green, C.B., entered Bombay army 1845, during Indian Mutiny commanded 2nd Scinde Horse, retired Scinde Horse 1868, and from Bombay army 1869;—Admiral Lindsay Brine, F.R.G.S. (1875 accompanied Sir Douglas Forsyth to Mandalay with the mission to the King of Burma, commanded the *Invincible* at the occupation of Cyprus 1879;—Lieutenant Martin Young, late Yorkshire and Lancaster Regiment, Poona, India;—General C. A. Benson, late of Indian army;—Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Louis Milne, D.S.O. (Afghan war 1878-80, Tel-el-Kibir, Burma expedition);—Mr. G. I. L. Litton, British Consul at Tengyueh;—William Ainslie, late Judge of the High Court, Calcutta;—Major-General William Abercromby Dick, late Bombay Cavalry;—Rao Bahadur C. Jambulinga Mudeliyar, C.I.E., Judge of the Madras City Court;—Thomas Durant Beighton, late Indian Civil Service;—Surgeon-General James Pattison Walker, late of Bengal army;—Major-General Charles George Baker Pasha, V.C., formerly Deputy Inspector-General of Police in Bengal, and later Chief of the Public Security Department Ministry of the Interior of Egypt;—George Vanderzee, of Madras army;—Herbert Baring Harington, formerly of the Oude Commission;—Lieutenant-Colonel T. Groube, served in North-West Frontier of India campaign 1863, and Afghan war 1879-80;—Major J. S. Lumsden, of the Indian Army Medical Service;—Tom Le Mesurier, of Poona, of late Revenue Surveys;—Surgeon-General T. E. Charles, late of the I.M.S., M.D., LL.D. Edin., F.R.C.P. Lond., K.H.P., late of Calcutta;—James Beaumont Buchanan, A.M.,

I.C.E., M.R.A.S., Chief Engineer Public Works Department, Hyderabad, India, retired;—Colonel G. W. Willock, Commandant of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry, Afghan war 1879-80;—Roland John Trimen, Lieutenant Ceylon Planters' Rifle Corps;—Major-General Sir William Forbes Gatacre, K.C.B., D.S.O. (India, South Africa, Soudan);—Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Walker Heneage, late of the Coldstream Guards (Crimea, Balacava, Inkerman, Sevastopol);—Lieutenant-General and Honorary-General the Hon. Sir David Macdowall Fraser, G.C.B. (entered Royal Artillery 1843, Eastern campaign 1854, Hyderghur 1858, Crimea, Afghan war 1878-79);—Major-General Thomas Francis Forster, Bengal Staff Corps (Sutlej campaign 1846, Aliwal);—Colonel J. W. Huskisson, late 56th Regiment, entered army 1850 (Indian Mutiny campaign, South Africa 1878, Zulu war 1879);—Lieutenant-Colonel Albert Peel Garnett, late 11th Hussars;—Colonel A. M. Hadley, formerly commanding Alexandra Princess of Wales' Own, entered 1858 (Hazara campaign 1868, Black Mountains);—The Raja of Faridkot;—General R. R. Mainwaring of the Bengal Staff Corps, retired (Sutlej campaign 1846, Southal campaign 1855, Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel James Stephen Nicholson, Madras Infantry (Indian Mutiny);—Major Thomas Davey, Royal Artillery (Indian Mutiny campaign, Lucknow).

March 17, 1906.





W. ✓  
G. ✓



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